

**A Pilgrim on God's High Road –
Canon Wilford in New Zealand 1904-1932**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the life of Canon John Russell Wilford, an Anglican clergyman working in the Diocese of Christchurch, in New Zealand from 1904 to 1933. This thesis concentrates on four of Canon Wilford's projects during this time: church building at Waikari, the 1910 missions in Prebbleton, the redevelopment of College House and the building of St George's Hospital. These projects were inspired by Canon Wilford's faith in God and his interest in the Canterbury Pilgrims. Each project also demonstrated Wilford's abilities as a fundraiser and an organiser.

The development of faith was Wilford's main concern in the Waikari and Prebbleton parishes. This thesis examines how he tried to do this with church building in Waikari and the General Mission in Prebbleton. It also examines the fundraising methods used by Wilford for the Waikari churches and how he became interested in the Canterbury Pilgrims there. The thesis looks at Wilford's role in the organisation of missions to develop faith in the Prebbleton parish in 1910. It also considers Wilford's Anglo-Catholicism and how this related to the missions as well as his interest in the Pilgrims.

Wilford was Principal of College House for the majority of his time in New Zealand and this thesis covers his attempts to rebuild the College and how he felt inspired by God and the Pilgrims to do so. As his campaign to rebuild the College was not successful this thesis will examine why this was the case. Wilford also felt inspired by God and the Pilgrims to build a private Anglican hospital. This plan resulted in St George's hospital. This thesis looks into fundraising methods used to finance the hospital and Wilford's religious, charitable and technological aims for the hospital.

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Introduction

I originally became interested in Canon John Russell Wilford after finding brief references to him in both Colin Brown's book on the history of Christ Church Cathedral¹ and John Cookson's chapter 'Pilgrim's Progress – Image, Identity and Myth in Christchurch' in *Southern Capital, Christchurch*.² Cookson, in particular, asked an interesting question about Wilford: 'How important Wilford was as an architect of social memory would be interesting to know.'³ At that stage I was searching for a thesis topic and began to wonder whether Wilford would be a good figure to study because there did not appear to be much known about him in relation to Christchurch's history.

I first needed to find out more about him and what he was known for. I could not locate any other recent secondary literature that mentioned him but was able to find out that he had written about his experiences in New Zealand in two works entitled, *Southern Cross and Evening Star* and *Faith Moves Mountains*, written by Wilford in retirement in England. Fortunately I had access to both of these works as they were held in the University of Canterbury library. I was even able to purchase my own copy of *Southern Cross and Evening Star* at a second hand book sale. St George's hospital also kindly sent me a photocopy of *Faith Moves Mountains*. As I read these two works about Wilford I was struck by the faith and the enthusiasm of the man, which I found to be inspiring. I was particularly interested in his commitment to education. I was amazed at how much he managed to do during his twenty-eight years in New Zealand, especially in the areas of education and

¹ Colin Brown, *Vision and Reality Christchurch's Cathedral in the Square*, (Christchurch: Christ Church Cathedral Chapter, 2000), pp. 91-3

² John Cookson, 'Pilgrims' Progress- Image, Identity and Myth in Christchurch', in John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall ed., *Southern Capital Christchurch*, (Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 2000), p. 34

³ Cookson, p. 34

healthcare. I believe that he is a significant and interesting figure in the development of Christchurch as a city not only because of his role as founder of St George's hospital but also because of the work he did as Principal of College House. I do believe that Wilford today is not as well known as he should be, although hopefully this thesis as well as the new wing named after him at St George's will play some role in changing this.

I used a variety of other primary sources in my research of Wilford apart from his own autobiographies. The Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Christchurch held valuable information about his parish ministry including vestry minutes, service records and the Diocesan newsletter, *The New Zealand Church News*. The Christ's College Archive also held excellent records about Wilford's time at College House including the minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors that was responsible for running College House. One of the most interesting sources I found in these archives was a series of letters between some of the members of the Board about Wilford and their views on his vision for College House. I was also able to visit St George's Hospital to examine their archival material and found a number of documents that were important to my chapter on the hospital. These included some of the St George's Hospital Executive minutes dating from the 1920s during the fundraising campaign. There were also some personal documents in the collection that were useful, especially two letters written by Wilford late in his life. In these letters he reflects on St George's and shares some interesting insights into why he believed it to be a success. There were also two accounts written by an anonymous author about the St George's campaign. One of these was of particular interest to me as it showed the positive impact Wilford had on some people around him. This

formed an interesting contrast to the letters of the Board members who were finding Wilford difficult at that point in time.

The University of Canterbury Library, especially the Macmillan Brown Library, was also useful during my research. I found some excellent primary sources in the Macmillan Brown, including the *New Zealand Misericordia*, which was the newsletter for St George's. I was also able to access there the Christchurch newspapers of Wilford's day, *The Press* being the most useful, which provided good information into all aspects of Wilford's life. There are a variety of different articles in the newspapers relating to Wilford including one that provided details of Wilford's time in England as a curate. There were articles that outlined the progress of the St George's scheme and showed some of the fundraising methods used by its supporters. The letters to the editor also gave a good insight into the public perception of Wilford's various causes.

I was able to look at a wide range of secondary sources, which I mostly found in the University library. These mainly provided me with the context necessary to understand Wilford and his actions. James Belich's *Paradise Reforged* gave a good insight into New Zealand society in the 1920s, especially the concept of recolonisation. Hugh Bowron's thesis, 'Anglo Catholicism in the Diocese of Christchurch', gave me a better understanding of the nature of Anglo Catholicism and how it related to Wilford, particularly in the context of his diocese. John Cookson's chapter 'Pilgrim's Progress' in *Southern Capital* was a good introduction to the concept of the Pilgrims and their importance in the development of Christchurch's identity. Lastly, *The College House List* by G.C. Weston was useful not only in identifying the students who had Wilford as Principal but also in showing what happened at College House between 1913 and 1932.

One other primary source I used a great deal was, as mentioned, *Southern Cross and Evening Star* as well as *Faith Moves Mountains*. These resources provided Wilford's account of his views as well as a comprehensive record of his life in New Zealand. Such a record could not have been found in the primary sources, which each gave small, discrete amounts of information. There was also some information given in these books, which I would not have been able to find elsewhere especially in regard to the identities of some people who came into contact with Wilford. I did however have to use these resources with caution as Wilford had a tendency to exaggerate especially in situations where he felt that he was wronged. There were a number of instances where information provided by Wilford did not equate with information that was contemporary to the event. They were also written at least twenty years after the events had taken place. This meant that there are probably some events that are missing or misrepresented because Wilford did not remember them clearly.

Apart from the issues with Wilford's own writings there were certain other problems I faced during the course of my thesis. One of these was Wilford's own personality. His passion for the causes he represented alienated people, especially some members of the Christ's College Board of Governors, who were not as passionate about the rebuilding of College House as Wilford. This meant I had to treat the information in the records left by these opponents as carefully as I treated Wilford's own writing as they were also not written objectively. In one other case, Knight's thesis on *The History of College House*, I had to be careful with material as I could see the presence of Wilford in Knight's interpretation of the disagreement between Wilford and the Board in 1923. The other major problem was a lack of material. One good example of this is that he never specified why he decided to

return to England at the start of 1933. He also never really explained his interest in the Canterbury Pilgrims. I also found it difficult to gain a good understanding of some events due to a lack of material. There is almost no material on the St Matthew's Victory School campaign and why Wilford got involved or what he actually did. This lack of information meant that I found at times that it was difficult to get a clear picture of Wilford.

I decided after my initial researching of Wilford to divide his time in Christchurch into four distinct, and yet interrelated, periods; his ministries in Waikari and Prebbleton, his life as Principal of College House and his work in the establishment of St George's Hospital. These four areas later became the basis for the four chapters of my thesis. The information on Wilford's ministry in Waikari I found to be particularly interesting as it provided a good insight into life in a New Zealand country parish at the turn of the twentieth century. I found this time to be a period of development in this parish and I had to ask myself what were the factors that had brought about this expansion. This led me to research the 'Lands for Settlement' governmental policy. I also felt this was a time of development for Wilford. This became evident as I researched the other areas of the topic as I found that at Waikari he was using skills, especially when fundraising, that he would use later when raising money for St George's and College House. When examining Wilford's ministry in Waikari I was therefore asking myself what methods of fundraising he used and how effective they were as well as how they related to his actions in later fundraising campaigns. I also wondered what was his motivation behind the church building campaigns at Waikari. Waikari was also important; as it was here that he started to become interested in the Canterbury Pilgrims – an interest that would influence his later actions.

I decided in my research of Prebbleton, Wilford's other parish, to focus on one main event, the 1910 General Mission, a nationwide Anglican evangelical campaign, and what was done about this in the Prebbleton parish. When researching the campaign I asked myself what preparation was there in the parish for it, how was the campaign run and what does this tell me about Wilford as well as how successful was the mission in Prebbleton. I found the parish statistics were excellent for answering this final question and revealed some quite surprising results. I found Wilford's Anglo-Catholic style of Anglicanism to be very important when looking at the nature of the mission in the Prebbleton parish. I wanted to look at this aspect of Wilford in some depth as I felt that it was also important during his time at College House and so asked myself why Anglo-Catholicism appealed to Wilford.

I found one of the most interesting incidents during Wilford's time in New Zealand to be the controversy surrounding Wilford's vision of College House as an Oxbridge-style college. Wilford spent a large portion of his time in New Zealand as Principal of College House, the theological training centre for the Diocese of Christchurch and also a boarding hostel for the University of Canterbury. In studying Wilford as Principal I wanted to examine what his role was as well as what he actually did as Principal. There were two main areas I examined when researching Wilford and College House. The first of these was what was the impact of World War I on College House and what was Wilford's response to any problems. Secondly, I wanted to know more about what Wilford's vision was for College House, how he set about bringing it about and how it related to his inspiration of the Canterbury Pilgrims. This I found took the form of another fundraising campaign so I decided to find out more about Wilford's tactics for getting money. As I got further into my research I found that this campaign was not a success and so I set about

finding why this was the case. I also looked into whether Wilford tried again later to achieve his vision of College House.

In contrast, Wilford's campaign to build St George's Hospital was successful so I looked into why this was so. I was also interested as to why Wilford had the idea of building a hospital. I found through reading his autobiographies that he was often inspired by the Pilgrims and so I wanted to know what the connections between the Pilgrims and St George's were. At College House Wilford had a vision of what he wanted to build and this was also the case at St George's so I asked myself during my research what Wilford's vision was for St George's and how he was going to bring it about. I looked again at the fundraising methods used by Wilford for St George's and how these compared to the methods used in Waikari and at College House.

I felt that the main concept that runs through this thesis on Wilford is development, establishing the Church in a new society, moreover a Church which was basic to the community and correspondingly central to its life. In each of the four sections he was developing a project or an idea – in Waikari it was church building, in Prebbleton it was faith, at College house it was the facilities and finally the St George's hospital. Wilford was also drew his inspiration for these projects from two sources – his faith in God and his interest in the Canterbury Pilgrims. The inspiration from his faith and religious beliefs are more evident at Waikari and Prebbleton while the St George's and College House projects are closely linked to the Pilgrims. It is also necessary to examine Wilford's fundraising and publicity campaigns to see how he raised interest in these developments that would enable their completion. I hope I have also managed to convey in this thesis some of the passion that Wilford had for these projects – a passion that is still evident and inspirational in reading his own accounts of his actions fifty-five years after they were written.

Chapter One

‘Souls to tend’ – Wilford in Waikari

In June 1904⁴ the Reverend John Russell Wilford, a young Church of England priest, arrived in Canterbury, New Zealand from Norwich, England. He brought with him his wife, Dorothy and toddler son James to experience a different type of life in the ‘colonies’⁵. The family had made this long journey so Wilford could become vicar of his first parish, Waikari in North Canterbury. Wilford’s main contribution to Waikari during his three years in the parish was being the driving force behind building two new churches in the area. Waikari was, for Wilford, a time of development. It was here that he further developed the fundraising skills that were to be so important later with College House and St George’s. It was also at Waikari that Wilford first developed his interest in the Pilgrims.

It is unknown why Wilford decided to move himself and his young family out to New Zealand. In order to examine the possible reasons for this decision it is necessary to investigate some parts of Wilford’s life before 1904, especially his work as a clergyman in England. He finished his BA degree at Christ’s College, Cambridge in 1899. During the course of his degree, he received academic prizes.⁶ Wilford then went to the Parish of Denver, outside the town of Downham Market, in the Diocese of Norwich to work as a curate for four years. Since in his autobiography Wilford only mentions his time in Denver in passing⁷ it is necessary to rely on an account in *The*

⁴ *A Jubilee History of the Parish of Waikari*, Parish Records of Glenmark-Waikari, PAR 25, Christchurch Diocesan Archives

⁵ John Russell Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star* (London: Martini, 1950), p. 14

⁶ J.A. Venn, *Alumni Canterburgenses 1752-1900 Volume VI*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 469

⁷ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 78

Press published on 14 April 1904.⁸ This article is extremely useful as it contains an interview with Wilford's vicar in Denver, Rev. St Vincent Beechy, written verbatim with information about Wilford's work as a curate. It seems that Wilford's first ministry had a strong missionary focus as he tried to bring the Church of England into far reaches of the parish by conducting cottage services. This allowed those who could not get to church a chance to worship and keep their interest in religion alive. There was also the possibility of attracting lapsed and non-church goers by providing them with a conveniently located service. Wilford was also chiefly responsible for the Tin Miners' Mission at Salter's Lode Mine. He ensured that this community had access to Church of England worship as well as Christian teaching for their children in the form of a Sunday school. Wilford's attention to the miners was certainly appreciated by them as they presented a silver inkstand to him, fish carvers and linen to his wife and a purse of money to their son before their departure for New Zealand.⁹

It is highly likely that Wilford's decision to go to New Zealand was strongly influenced by his work in Denver. It is important to note that all of Wilford's work in Denver was self-motivated, as Rev. Beechy did not usually provide Wilford with instructions.¹⁰ Wilford therefore was able to carry out the type of work he believed to be necessary in the parish. This shows that missionary work was of prime importance and interest to him. It is possible that he decided on New Zealand because he may well have been in touch with or read about other clergymen who had worked in New Zealand.

There had been a certain amount of coming and going between the old country and the new. Wilford himself would have been well aware of the type of work involved in a New Zealand rural parish. The similarities between the New Zealand

⁸ *The Press*, 14 April, 1904, pp. 5-6

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 78

work and his ministry in Denver would certainly have appealed to him. Therefore, it is probable that Wilford decided that he wished to continue with this missionary work and New Zealand seemed an ideal place to do so.

Wilford certainly carried on a similar style of missionary work in Waikari to Denver. His approach to parish ministry is best summed up when he writes that ‘There were souls to tend’.¹¹ For Wilford, it was important to ensure that everyone in his parish had their spiritual needs met. This belief in ministering to his entire congregation and, indeed, the wider community was central to Wilford’s work as a priest. It was again demonstrated many years after he left Waikari while living in the Channel Islands during World War II. The Rector of this parish fell seriously ill and then died. The Wilfords decided, instead of moving to the much safer England, to remain there so that Wilford could minister to the Jersey parish. He did this while trying to bring some hope and comfort to these people during the difficult days of the Nazi occupation of the Islands.¹²

The Parochial District of Waikari had only been established for three years when Wilford arrived.¹³ Prior to that, it had been the northern section of the Amberley Parish. The Waikari Parish of Wilford’s day was dispersed with a number of small worship centres outside Waikari including Scargill, Horsley Down, Medbury, The Peaks and Mason’s Flat. This was a huge area for a clergyman to cover in the days before motorcars. In his autobiography, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, Wilford wrote about the difficulties of travel in the region.¹⁴ He relied on a horse, called Skittles, and cart for transport often staying with parishioners on his way round the

¹¹ Ibid, p. 15

¹² Ibid, p. 236

¹³ *A Jubilee History of the Parish of Waikari*, Christchurch Diocesan Archives

¹⁴ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, pp. 21-2 and p. 32-3

parish.¹⁵ ‘I had to buy a second horse which I never got to know which only added to my difficulties. He developed greasy heels.’¹⁶

The past vicars of the combined Amberley and Waikari had an even larger area to cover. They were not however without help as there was a curate based at Waikari from 1879 to 1893¹⁷. From 1893 to 1901, Reverend C.A. Tobin of Amberley appeared to be able to run the entire area from Amberley and up through the Waipara region by himself.¹⁸ In 1901, Waikari was made a separate parochial district, which is different from a parish in that the Bishop appoints the Vicar for the parochial district while a parish can choose their own. A parochial district also does not have the necessary finances to be made a parish.¹⁹ There were two incumbents before Wilford; the Rev. W.W. Sedgwick worked there for two years and the Rev. J.A. Julius for one. Sedgwick organised the building of the Church of the Ascension at Waikari²⁰ while Julius began the campaign to build a church at Horsley Down²¹ in 1903. The Church of the Ascension was the only church in the Waikari Parochial District when Wilford arrived in 1904. There was however already a need for churches in some of the other parish centres. This was due to an increase in the population of the area. This increase is certainly noticeable when examining the yearly attendance for services in the Parochial District that rose from 75 in 1895/6 to 258 in 1901/02.²² This was due in part to a large influx of farmers in the area after the Horsley Down estate was bought and broken up by the Government with their Lands for Settlement policy.

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 22

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 38

¹⁷ *A Jubilee History of the Parish of Waikari*, Christchurch Diocesan Archives

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Jean Ross, *Faith and Vision A short history of Riccarton-St James 1906-1999* (Christchurch: Parish of Riccarton-St James, 1999, p. 2 The term parish also is used in general for both parishes and parochial districts. The same has been done in this chapter

²⁰ *A Jubilee History of the Parish of Waikari*, Christchurch Diocesan Archives

²¹ Ibid

²² ‘Statistics Tables’, *Year Book for the Diocese of Christchurch for the Diocesan Year 1895-96 and 1901-1902* (Christchurch: Smith, Anthony and Sellers, 1896 and 1902)

Wilford records in his autobiography the hospitality of many of his Waikari parishioners with whom he, sometimes with his family, stayed overnight²³ due to the great distances that had to be traveled to keep in touch with the entire parish. On all parish visits, Wilford took his 'mysterious black bag'²⁴ with him that contained cheap religious literature mostly provided by the S.P.C.K.²⁵, as well as material from Bible-reading unions such as Bible reading cards.²⁶ These were handed out to increase people's awareness of their own faith. The cards encouraged people to read their Bibles more often, and S.P.C.K. material provided information about Christian beliefs. Wilford believed that this material contained the spread of more showy brochures that he saw as injurious to spiritual health as they spoke of 'the imminent end of the world, of the futility of the Church and priests...'.²⁷ Wilford also concerned himself with ensuring that all the children in his parish had access to religious education. Three new Sunday Schools were established in the parish in 1905²⁸ while the number of children attending these increased from 23 in 1904 to a peak of 51 in 1906.²⁹ He, and sometimes Dorothy, made a point of visiting all of the district schools in the area in order to provide religious education to those who wanted it.³⁰

Wilford's work in Denver, particularly at Salter's Lode Mine, was good preparation for the work he was to do amongst the railway workers at Scargill on the far edge of the parish. The Railway Authorisation Act of 1899 allowed the building

²³ Ibid, p. 21

²⁴ Ibid, p. 24

²⁵ Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge

²⁶ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 24 and *New Zealand Church News*, vol. xxxix, no. 12, December 1904, p. 17

²⁷ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 24

²⁸ Ibid, p. 24 and 'Statistics Table' *Year Book of the Diocese of Christchurch for the Diocesan Year 1905-06* (Christchurch: Smith and Anthony, 1906)

²⁹ 'Statistics Tables', *The Year Book of the Diocese of Christchurch for the Diocesan Year 1904-05 and 1906-07*, (Christchurch: Smith, Anthony and Sellers 1905) and (Christchurch: Smith and Anthony 1907)

³⁰ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 30

of more railway lines to connect the South Island. A section was to be built between Waipara and Cheviot running through the most eastern side of the Waikari parish.³¹ Wilford believed that these workers were in need of Christian services. In a letter to the Diocesan Standing Committee Wilford wrote about the necessity of 'ministrations to the bodies of men working on new railway lines.'³² In early 1905, Wilford began to hold services for the railway workers in their own camp and was loaned a large shed in the middle of the workers' tents for this purpose.³³ There were a certain number of difficulties involved with this mission to the railway workers. The largest problem was the lack of interest from the majority of the workers. In the 'Parishes' column of *The New Zealand Church News* under Waikari, someone likely to be Wilford³⁴ wrote: 'there is a feeling among many of them that when they left their homes and came to live in tents they left too their church... This was painfully evident from the small number that attended a morning service...'³⁵ Despite this rather disappointing start to the services it does seem that Wilford wished to persevere with them: 'Still it was the first service we have held there... We shall try to go again'.³⁶ The other difficulty was experienced by Wilford himself as the railway camp was a long way from Waikari³⁷ and this, combined with the time of the service, made it impossible for him to return home afterwards. He managed to find accommodation in a small house some distance from the camp and slept on his host's sofa, as there was only one bedroom.³⁸ There is no record of how long these services

³¹ W.H. Scotter, *History of Canterbury Vol. 111: 1876-1950*, (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1965) pp. 277-8

³² *New Zealand Church News*, vol. xxxv, no. 3, March 1905, p. 8

³³ *Ibid*, vol. xxxv, no. 2, February 1905, p. 16

³⁴ It is probable that Wilford wrote these columns as he was vicar of the parish and would therefore have the best knowledge of what was happening in it. The style of writing of these columns is very similar to other surviving material written by him.

³⁵ *Ibid*, vol. xxxvi, no. 2, February 1906, p. 16

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 16

³⁷ It is 22 kms from Waikari to Scargill and the railway camp was further than that.

³⁸ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 22

at the railway camp continued but from Wilford's reference to them in his autobiography³⁹ it can be surmised that there was certainly more than one. Wilford's attempt to minister to the spiritual needs of the railway workers certainly indicates his intention of tending every soul in his parish to the best of his ability. It also demonstrates his continuing interest in home missionary work that began in the Denver parish.

It is unknown whether Wilford actually made a decision to apply to work in New Zealand or whether his Bishop sent him there. We do know however that he was probably part of a 'five-year plan of borrowing priests from England.'⁴⁰ Many English clergymen came out to New Zealand at this point in time as there were not enough locally trained clergymen to supply parishes.⁴¹ It seems most likely that Wilford applied for the programme, as it is a life-changing decision to move to the other side of the world. It meant leaving all that was familiar behind, including friends and family. It is doubtful that any Bishop would require his clergy to go to New Zealand on this scheme. In *Southern Cross and Evening Star* Wilford does say that 'it was Cambridge and that saintly priest Forbes Robinson... that together had the sending of us to New Zealand.'⁴² He is possibly referring to how he found out about parishes in New Zealand, which made him consider going to there.

Wilford may also have felt he was spiritually sent to New Zealand. This is a theme that runs throughout his autobiography as well as *Faith Moves Mountains*, the pamphlet he wrote about St George's. He says of his decision to found St George's: 'Forces that I could not resist led me on. The results which followed the efforts of those who heard my wilderness cry, I think, do prove that those forces came of

³⁹ Ibid, p. 22

⁴⁰ Ibid, p. 17

⁴¹ W.P. Morrell, *The Anglican Church in New Zealand A History*, (Dunedin: Anglican Church of the Province of New Zealand, 1973), p. 118

⁴² Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 18

God.⁴³ Towards the end of his life⁴⁴ Wilford wrote to Dr L.C.L. Averill, who was now the head of St George's, that 'Two things go together or God's work will be delayed – continuous prayer and continuous work... When under His direction we begin to work God sees that we never work in vain but to have Him with us we have to both begin and continue.'⁴⁵ Both of these references show a man who had a strong belief in his faith. It is therefore highly probable that Wilford would have sought divine guidance through prayer when making his decision to go to New Zealand. He writes that 'A priest must go where he is sent.'⁴⁶ He would have determined through his prayers that God wished him to go to New Zealand and therefore began to make arrangements.

It can be established that there were a number of factors involved in Wilford's decision to leave England for New Zealand with his young family. Most important to Wilford as a clergyman as well as a man of strong faith was that he felt that God had directed him to go and work in New Zealand. Friends such as Forbes Robinson, Wilford's mentor at Cambridge may have suggested the move to him. Wilford would then have done some research into clerical life in rural New Zealand. He would have discovered that there were similarities between this type of work and that which he was enjoying in Denver. This ties in with some of the work that Wilford carried out in the Waikari parish as he attempted to minister to a group of railway workers who were resident at one edge of his parish. He would then have prayed about it in order to establish whether it was God's will for him to go and on discovering it was, he would have started to make arrangements. It can only be assumed that he consulted his wife about the move during this process. It is highly likely that he did as Dorothy

⁴³ John Russell Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, (Jersey: The Evening Post, 1950), p. ix

⁴⁴ J[ohn] R[ussell, W[ilford],] to L[eslie] C[ecil] L[loyd] Averill, c.1950, St George's Hospital Trust, St George's Hospital, Christchurch

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 39

threw herself with great energy into the domestic arrangements in Waikari: 'my wife... insisted... that I must leave her to deal as best she could with the home difficulties.'⁴⁷ She also appears to have shared Wilford's strong religious convictions, 'She both knew and loved the Faith'⁴⁸. So she would have understood how Wilford felt called to go to New Zealand. She was herself the daughter of a clergyman, the Reverend James Smart⁴⁹ so she would have understood Wilford's motivations for the move as well as what life was like for a clerical family.

One of the most important features of Wilford's time in Waikari was that two new churches were built in the parish at Horsley Down and Scargill. Wilford was instrumental in the building of these churches and therefore it is relevant to discover why he felt these churches to be necessary. This can be done by examining activity within the Waikari parish during Wilford's ministry. The easiest method of doing this is to look at the services held in the parish during this period, such as where they were held, how many of them were there and the attendance numbers.

It is also important to examine any secular factors that may have had an impact upon the Waikari parish from 1904 to 1907. In an article on the Waikari and Glenmark parishes, published in June 1907 in *The New Zealand Church News* it was written that

Fifteen years ago... the greater part of the country between the Waipara and the

Hurunui... was in the hands of the late Messrs. J.D. Lance and G.H. Moore.

Since then, both estates... have been disposed of, and the land taken up by

⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 14

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 16

⁴⁹ Venn, p. 469

farmers from all parts of Canterbury, so much so that the population in these districts has very largely increased.⁵⁰

What is being referred to here is the Land for Settlements Act of 1892. In order to discover how this Act affected the Waikari Parish it is important to outline why it was necessary as well as the substance of the legislation. When the Liberal Government came into office in January 1891, less than 1 percent of all landowners controlled around 69 percent of all freehold land.⁵¹ Farming was an extremely important part of the New Zealand economy, particularly as it was now possible to export frozen meat to Great Britain. Many, therefore, perceived it as unfair that so small a section of the population should have access to the most land. This led to a call from these people to 'burst up the big estates'.⁵² The Liberal Government took on board this issue and made land reform part of their policy. When they were elected in 1891, they set about doing something about the land monopoly by these estate owners. John Mackenzie was the chief architect of the Land for Settlements Act. The main ideology was that the Government would purchase great estates, compulsorily if necessary, then subdivide the land into various size parcels. Farmers then applied for land parcels and it was balloted out amongst the applicants. The Act was at first defeated by the Legislative Council in 1891 but passed in 1892 after repurchasing was made voluntary instead of compulsory.⁵³ The compulsory clause was reinstated into the Act in 1894.⁵⁴ It should be noted however that very few compulsory purchases were made: Culverden was the only one in Canterbury.⁵⁵ According to Belich, many

⁵⁰ *New Zealand Church News*, vol. xxxvi, no. 7, June 1907, p. 6

⁵¹ Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, (Auckland: Penguin, 2003) p. 269

⁵² Tom Brooking, *Lands for the people? : The Highland clearances and the colonisation of New Zealand: a biography of John McKenzie* (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1996), p. 98

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 108

⁵⁴ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged A History of New Zealanders from the 1880s to the Year 2000* (Auckland: Penguin, 2001) p. 128

⁵⁵ Scotter, p. 210

of the great landowners were keen to sell their land as many had bought too much and it was now uneconomic to run. The government was offered four to five times the amount of land that it actually purchased.⁵⁶ In total the government bought 223 estates and settled 7000 farmers and their families on the land.

The key to the relationship between the Waikari parish and the Land for Settlements scheme is the Horsley Down Estate. J.D. Lance of the Heathstock and Horsley Down Estates was one of those who was eager to sell his property for financial reasons. He fits rather nicely into Belich's argument, as he was one who had bought too much land and was now financially embarrassed. He sold his Horsley Down Estate to the Government as part of this scheme, then retired to Christchurch where he died in 1897.⁵⁷ The sale of the Horsley Down Estate resulted in an influx of small to medium hold farmers into the Horsley Down area. These settlers required amenities such as schools, shops and places for worship. The new arrivals dramatically changed the pattern of church life in the Waikari parish. The Land for Settlements Act also played an important role in increasing the number of possible parishioners in the Waikari parish. The number of actual parishioners increased exponentially between 1895 and when Wilford arrived in 1904. The total attendance at services in Waikari for all of 1895 was 75. By 1901 this number had increased to 258 for the year and by 1904 the total attendance at all services was 337. This is an increase of just over four hundred percent in a nine-year period.

This change in the church life of the Waikari parish needs to be examined further. In order to do this it is useful to consult an argument proposed by Canon H.T. Purchas in *A History of the English Church in New Zealand* published in 1914. Canon Purchas was an Anglican clergyman in the Christchurch diocese as well as a

⁵⁶ Belich, p. 128

⁵⁷ L.G.D. Acland, *The Early Canterbury Runs*, complete edition, (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1951), p. 281

contemporary of Wilford. In this work, he suggests that there were three stages of rural churchlife in New Zealand up to 1914. Each was named after the type of trees planted by the churchgoers of that stage. The first of these stages was the *Eucalyptus* stage in which services were held in the station house or the wool shed of a great estate. They were attended by all of those who worked on the estate with their families and often patronised over by the owner of the estate and his wife.⁵⁸ These types of services are mentioned in Lady Barker's book *Station Life in New Zealand*. One of these was held on Christmas Day, 1866 where many of the workers of the Broomielaw Station gathered for a service.⁵⁹ If one looks at the setting of these services then it can be ascertained that they are likely to be the type of service held at the Horsley Down Estate before 1896. The next stage came about when 'The large sheep run is broken up into farms'⁶⁰ presumably in a large number of cases by the Land for Settlements scheme, 'each marked out by large plantations of *pinus insignis*'⁶¹. Services were held in a communal building such as a school or a hall. A lack of space and clergy meant that people of all denominations attended these services. There was probably a different type of service each Sunday. For example, the Methodist minister would visit one Sunday, the Presbyterian the next and the Anglican the week after. The Pine stage was still visible in Waikari at the start of Wilford's ministry as many of the services outside Waikari were held in small centres close to the new farms in areas such as Medbury or Mason's Flat. According to the Waikari service registers, a service was held once a month in each of these small

⁵⁸ H. T. Purchas, *The English Church in New Zealand* (Christchurch: Simpson and Williams, 1914), p. 220

⁵⁹ Lady Barker, *Station Life in New Zealand*, (Auckland: Vintage, 2000), pp. 143-144

⁶⁰ Purchas, p. 220

⁶¹ Ibid

settlements in 1904⁶². In Scargill these services were held in the waiting room of the railway station⁶³ while early services in Waikari, before the church was built, were held in the Oddfellow's Hall.⁶⁴ It is highly unlikely that all of these farmers were Anglican so it is probable that a different minister visited on the other Sundays.

If one continues to follow Purchas's theory then the final stage is the Cypress or *Macrocarpa* stage when a church is built as part of a village that has developed to service the farms. This is due to the desire of a congregation of one denomination to have their own space to set up and worship in their own particular way. Due to the absence of central funding they must also have had the people and the funds for this to be possible. The number of people was probably the more important part of this equation as the larger the number of people who attended the church the more funds the Parish received to build and furnish churches. This final stage is the one that concerned Wilford the most as he played a large role in the development of this stage of church life in the Waikari parish. The reality of the Waikari parish however draws away a little from Purchas's schema, as an examination of the Service Registers will prove. As mentioned before, throughout 1904 Wilford took about one service per month at each worship centre outside of Waikari. Mason's Flat usually had two a month while The Peaks and Scargill only had two that year. In July 1905, however, after the Horsley Down church was built these monthly services in the outlying areas all but stopped, except occasional ones at Hurunui and Scargill. The reason for this appears to have been that all those who attended the Medbury, Mason's Flat and The Peak's services could now have a weekly service in an Anglican church not too far away from where they lived. Geographically the site of the Horsley Down Church is

⁶² *Waikari Service Book 30 March 1901 – 12 May 1907*, Parish Records of Glenmark-Waikari, PAR 25, Christchurch Diocesan Archives

⁶³ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 35

⁶⁴ *A Jubilee History of the Parish of Waikari*, Christchurch Diocesan Archives

approximately half way between Medbury and Mason's Flat as well as being within reach of both Hurunui and The Peaks. This differs from Purchas's argument in that the church was not built in the village servicing the farms but in a location that would be convenient to a number of different villages as well as farms.

The congregation size of all of these smaller services combined certainly seems to have warranted the building of a centrally located church. In 1904, Medbury averaged around 37 people per service; Hurunui had about 34 while Mason's Flat had around 10.⁶⁵ It should be noted however, that Mason's Flat numbers could vary from 41 to 12.⁶⁶ If the average attendance for the four worship centres closest to Horsley Down - Hurunui, Medbury, Mason's Flat and The Peaks - are combined there is an average of 92 people per service at the new church. This was not however the case. For the first six months of the church's existence the average attendance was only 27 people per service.⁶⁷ The numbers did pick up in 1906 with an average of 30 people at each service.⁶⁸ There are a number of reasons behind this apparent drop in numbers. The first is related to Purchas's theory of different denominations worshipping together in the community. Therefore, when the Anglicans decided to build their own church, these members of other churches would not have continued to attend Anglican services at their new location, and this led in part to the drop in attendance numbers. Another possible reason is convenience, as some people would not have wished to travel to the new site for services.

The main importance of the Horsley Down church in an examination of Wilford was the campaign to build it. In this campaign, many of the qualities that became so important in his later work in New Zealand, especially at College House

⁶⁵ *Waikari Service Book*, Christchurch Diocesan Archives

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

and St George's, came to the fore. These qualities included an extraordinary ability to fundraise, personal charisma and a huge amount of determination. The concept of a church at Horsley Down was not, however, Wilford's idea. In 1903, the previous incumbent, the Rev. J.A. Julius, proposed that a church be built at Horsley Down.⁶⁹ After his departure from the parish at the start of 1904 the campaign appears to have moved rather slowly until the arrival of Wilford who embraced the project with enthusiasm. He had probably been in the parish for only a fortnight before his first vestry meeting was held on 15 June 1904. At this meeting Wilford offered to canvass for the new church provided that someone took him round.⁷⁰ This certainly shows Wilford's dedication to the project, as he appears to have immediately involved himself in it while still spending time settling in to the parish and new country. He was also willing to spend his own time fundraising for the church. On another level, though, it was probably an excellent way to acquaint himself with those living in his parish even if he was asking for money at the same time.

It was suggested that the church be a memorial to one of the most important figures in the district and 'stalwart son of the Church',⁷¹ James Dupré Lance who was of course the late owner of the Horsley Down estate. There is no record of who actually suggested this dedication of the church. A short history of the parochial district of Waikari does mention that Wilford proposed that funds collected for a Lance Memorial Window be given to the Horsley Down church instead. The memorial nature of the church was certainly approved during Wilford's time as vicar. In *The New Zealand Church News* references to the church change from the Horsley

⁶⁹ *A Jubilee History of the Parish of Waikari*, Christchurch Diocesan Archives

⁷⁰ 15 June 1904, *Waikari Vestry Minute Book 20 May 1901 – 1 November 1912*, Parish Records of Glenmark-Waikari, PAR 25, Christchurch Diocesan Archives

⁷¹ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 25

Down church⁷² to the Lance Memorial Church, Horsley Down in August, 1904.⁷³

The memorial nature of the church was certainly one of the tools used by Wilford in order to fundraise for the church outside of Waikari. The Waikari column in *The New Zealand Church News* said that ‘There must be many throughout the diocese who knew and respected Mr Lance and would like to join in a scheme such as this to perpetuate his memory’.⁷⁴ The effect of this appeal is not recorded although there is mention of funds coming in from the rest of the diocese. Wilford records that Archdeacon Scott, another clergyman in the diocese, was ‘always getting someone to help’⁷⁵ and often sent Wilford cheques for the project.⁷⁶ It is interesting to note that those who probably knew Lance the best were other members of the Canterbury ‘gentry’ due to their similar social position. Lady Barker writes of spending time at the Heathstock Station in the company of the Lances.⁷⁷ The ‘gentry’ were the most likely to have had the spare money to help fund the building of a church due to their financial status. Therefore, in appealing to those who knew Lance Wilford was appealing to the Canterbury elite. It is interesting to note that this tactic was used many years later in the building of St George’s. The Lance family were themselves useful in providing equipment for the church as they donated the communion set.⁷⁸ Communion sets are usually made of silver and would have been rather expensive. This made it a very valuable donation.

The success of Wilford’s fundraising campaign is best viewed by the change in the plans for the church from 1904 to 1905. In June 1904, the vestry decided to build a £195 church consisting of the main building and the chancel. The other

⁷² *New Zealand Church News*, vol. xxxiv, no. 7, July 1904, p. 16

⁷³ *Ibid*, vol. xxxiv, no. 8, August 1904, p. 16

⁷⁴ *Ibid*.

⁷⁵ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 27

⁷⁶ *Ibid*.

⁷⁷ Lady Barker, pp. 82-86

⁷⁸ 6 May 1907, *Waikari Vestry Minute Book*

options were discarded as the £240 option was felt to be too expensive while the £180 option had no chance.⁷⁹ A great deal of the £195 was raised in short space of time. By July 1904, £138 10 5½ had been received by Wilford and there was also £34 promised.⁸⁰ There was no idea however of starting building immediately as it was felt that all of the required funds should be collected before building began.⁸¹ This was possibly due to some doubt as to where the rest of the funds were going to come from. It should be pointed out that they were actually trying to raise an amount that was about equal to Wilford's annual salary⁸² in a predominantly rural community made up mostly of small to medium hold farmers who would have had only a small disposable income. Many vestry members were probably wondering after the fundraising in July 1904 whether the local community could give any more money and if not where the rest of the money would come from. With the break-up of the great estates, in particular Horsley Down, there was no longer the local gentry who traditionally helped to fund the building of churches. The neighbouring parish of Glenmark had certain similarities to Horsley Down. This parish was created after the Glenmark estate was sold to the Government and balloted out. Annie Townsend, the daughter of the late estate owner, G.H. Moore, decided, however, to pay for the church and the vicarage of this new parish. There was however no one to do this in Waikari and so the initiative and funding had to come from the local community. Wilford would certainly have been privy to these concerns about funding. Therefore, in August 1904 he wrote in *The New Zealand Church News*: 'We have collected over £100 but of course want a great deal more. But where is this to come from? No: this is not a note

⁷⁹ 15 June 1904, *Waikari Vestry Minute Book*

⁸⁰ Ibid, 4 July 1904

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Wilford earned £200 per annum as Vicar of Waikari, *Year Book of the Diocese of Christchurch 1904-05*

of despair but only an invitation to those to help us who have not yet done so.⁸³ Wilford's tactic in this case was to appeal to the wider Anglican community of the Diocese to help with building the church. He was however not formally allowed to appeal to the other Anglican parishes for aid as only one church per year was able to do this and Glentunnel had already done so.⁸⁴ It does not appear to have stopped Wilford making informal appeals to friends, such as Archdeacon Scott, to help fundraise.

Wilford also proposed a sale of work to the Vestry. He commented in *Southern Cross and Evening Star* that Synod was 'averse to bazaars for the building of churches'.⁸⁵ He appears to have successfully negotiated round this by having the parish hold a 'sale of work' instead.⁸⁶ Wilford used this as a way of accessing the pockets of the wider diocese instead of a simple appeal. He managed to get other parishes to donate items for sale⁸⁷ and mentioned later that 'People had been very good at sending things in'.⁸⁸ Wilford and the parish also ensured that the sale was well publicised throughout the Diocese. The Waikari column of *The New Zealand Church News* invited all to buy a cheap railway ticket and attend the bazaar while those living within the parish received a flyer with their copy of the *Church News*.⁸⁹ This is certainly reminiscent of the Open Days that were so important to the building of St George's Hospital much later on. These tactics were, according to both accounts of the bazaar, successful as a large amount of money was raised. People came from 'far and near'⁹⁰ while the account in Wilford's autobiography gives a

⁸³ *New Zealand Church News*, August 1904, p. 16

⁸⁴ *Ibid*, vol. xxxiv, no. 10, October 1904, p. 16

⁸⁵ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 25

⁸⁶ *Ibid*. p. 26

⁸⁷ *New Zealand Church News*, December 1904, p. 18

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, February 1905, p. 16

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, December 1904, p. 18

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, February 1905, p. 16

much more vivid description. 'The roads of the township were packed with buggies. Rows of horses with ropes or reins thrown over their heads lined the wire fences. The train from Christchurch brought up crowds.'⁹¹ It is impossible to tell whether this was an exaggeration but the sale certainly achieved its objective in raising funds for the Horsley Down church. The sale of work made a total profit for Waikari of £115. If one takes into account the £172 9 2½ already collected as well as the £30 16 0 promised for the church then the parish had around £300 to build the church. This was more than enough to pay for the original plans for the church so the Vestry decided to ask for new plans for a much more elaborate church.⁹² They accepted a tender from a Mr Forbes for £339 in March 1905.⁹³ This is certainly more than the vestry had in hand in January although there appears to be no concern about this. It is highly likely that more funds were raised in the five months following the sale. The most remarkable thing about the eventual cost of the church is that it dramatically exceeded all budgets but everything was still paid for. In the end the Waikari parish paid £477 17 11, a long way from the original figure of £195. This final figure would not just have included the building of the church but also all interior and exterior work and furnishing necessary to make it suitable for worship. There were however a large number of gifts presented to the church especially for its interior. Dorothy herself gave a super-frontal that she had embroidered herself.⁹⁴

Wilford also was involved in the building of another church in his parish – that at Scargill. There are not as many sources regarding the Scargill church as there are Horsley Down. There is little indication given in any of these sources about why a church was required in this town. Wilford in his autobiography wrote that 'Scargill at

⁹¹ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*. p. 26

⁹² *Waikari Vestry Minute Book*, 3 January 1905

⁹³ *Ibid*, 8 May 1905

⁹⁴ *New Zealand Church News*, vol. xxxv, no. 8, August 1905, p. 6

the far end of the parish had no place for its services. The waiting room of a wind-swept halt on a railway being cut through to the north meant horrid discomfort. The whole of one side was open to the weather and often my surplice was blown right over my head.’⁹⁵ The discomfort of the railway station may have made the congregation decide to build a church. The new church would mean that they could hold services in a more comfortable and respectful environment. The success, too, of the Horsley Down fundraising might well have spurred on both the congregation and the Vicar into believing it would be possible to raise the necessary funds for a church at Scargill. Wilford himself saw the completion of the Scargill church as the last stage of a rowing race that was the development of the parish. The Horsley Down church, the Waikari church and the Waikari parish room, which was added during his time in the parish, were the other laps of the race.⁹⁶ This analogy gives a clear indication of what Wilford believed to be his mission in the Parish - developing it so that all had access to the necessary facilities and spaces to worship. His reference to the rowing race shows his own determination that this race be won and that all of these parts of the parish be completed.

The fact that Scargill had only recently become a railway halt⁹⁷ meant that a village was forming around this point to provide services for those using the railway as well as the local farmers of the Greta Valley, although ‘apart from a store and a workman’s cottage, the railway had not yet made a township of their halt.’⁹⁸ There was however no doubt that with all of the amenities of Scargill it would soon develop into a larger settlement. Here again Purchas’s *Macrocarpa* stage is relevant as he suggests that the development of a village also involved the development of a church

⁹⁵ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 35

⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 36

⁹⁷ Scotter, p. 278

⁹⁸ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 38

building. This perhaps harkens back to the British origins of many of the congregation where each village had its own parish church.

Geography was another factor that affected the building of the Scargill church. Scargill was some distance from the rest of the parish and therefore its inhabitants could not easily visit either the Waikari or the Horsley Down church. It therefore made a good deal of sense to have a church in this area of the parish to give its inhabitants their own worship area. It also explains Wilford's drive to build a church in Scargill as part of his rowing race. All the other stages in his race involved building churches in the other areas of his parish. The completion of the Scargill church meant that from his perspective all areas in the parish had a church. The author of an account in *The New Zealand Church News* about the church in North Canterbury remarks that 'with the opening of the new church at Scargill, only four miles away, the writer cannot think that it would be unnecessary to carry on the services at the Tipapa school.'⁹⁹ Wilford and the congregation probably had this service of the wider community, not just Scargill, in mind when they decided to build the church.

The lack of regular services at Scargill prior to the building of the church is puzzling. One would imagine that a congregation in need of a church is also a congregation in need of regular services. There are some possible reasons behind this such as infrequent access to the railway waiting room. Wilford could have been too busy but this does not make much sense either. He often used either another clergyman or lay reader, especially a man called Neeve to take services while he was busy in another part of his parish.¹⁰⁰ Services were held sporadically at Scargill during Wilford's time as vicar of the parish. In 1905, there was one service held there

⁹⁹ *New Zealand Church News*, June 1907, p. 7

¹⁰⁰ *Waikari Service Book 1901-1907*

a month for the first half of the year and none for the second half after the Horsley Down church was built. It would be unreasonable to expect that the parishioners from Scargill would attend the new church as it was on the other side of this rather large parish. There are in fact twenty-two kilometres between Waikari and Scargill¹⁰¹ and Horsley Down is even further than that from Scargill. There were certainly decent attendances at these services in 1905 with an average attendance of about 22 people.¹⁰² The attendances did lower in the last few months before the services ended to six one month and then ten the next. It may perhaps have been decided that these numbers were too low for services to have been necessary but this does not fit in with Wilford's desire to minister to every member of his parish. Nor does it seem reasonable to end the services because of two months bad attendance especially as these months are some of the colder ones, when it was it more difficult to get to church due to inclement weather. Perhaps Wilford was too busy establishing his new church at Horsley Down to have time to make the rather long trip to Scargill for services. But as already mentioned he could always find someone else. There does not seem to be a logical answer for this lack of services except perhaps that they were simply not recorded. There are certain discrepancies between Wilford's autobiography and the service register. After the Scargill church was built Wilford recalls spending some Saturday and Sunday nights sleeping in the vestry of the Scargill church so he could take either early morning or evening services at the church. There is however almost no record of these services taking place except one Sunday in July 1907 when there was a 7pm service at Scargill. The majority of the services at St. Aidan's, Scargill were held at 3pm.¹⁰³ This does not appear to be the type of anecdote that one would invent although Wilford was elderly and not in the

¹⁰¹ AA Roadsign at Waikari

¹⁰² *Waikari Service Book 1901-1907*

¹⁰³ Ibid

best of health when the book was written¹⁰⁴ so it is possible that he was confusing events. It should be mentioned however that a stretcher and mattress were donated to the Scargill church when it opened to accommodate the vicar.¹⁰⁵ It is therefore possible that these services were either not recorded or were written down in another service register that has since been lost.

In 1906 however regular services were resumed at Scargill, usually one every two months. This provides one hypothesis for 1905; perhaps the Scargill community only had six services a year and in 1905 they elected to have them all in the first six months of the year. The attendance numbers for 1906 are also little help. Most services had rather ordinary attendances of twenty, thirty, twelve and even two. The other one however had an attendance that is simply recorded as being ‘overflowing’.¹⁰⁶ There are several possible causes for this dramatic increase for this one service including a baptism or baptisms where the parents of the child would invite family and friends or a theme service such as harvest festival. There is no indication of this from the records. No baptism is recorded for this date nor was it a popular festival. Wilford may have realised from this however that there were more people in the district who could be encouraged to attend services. The provision of a church building could be a way of encouraging these stragglers into a regular pattern of church attendance.

There is little record of the actual fundraising efforts for the Scargill church. Wilford does record trying to use Scripture to inspire his parishioners to build the Scargill church: ‘I used to choose for lessons passages telling of the magnificence of Solomon’s temple, hoping to work up a sort of divine discontent amongst this

¹⁰⁴ Wilford to Averill 1950, he wrote ‘All the strength has gone now and I am finding it difficult to breathe and to walk. I’ve dictated these letters to you..’

¹⁰⁵ *Waikari Vestry Minute Book*, 23 July 1907

¹⁰⁶ *Waikari Service Book 1901-1907*

scattered flock'.¹⁰⁷ He does not record how successful this was. Something must have inspired them to build the church, as there appears to have been little difficulty in raising funds. Especially less than a year after the Horsley Down Church was opened. Fundraising methods similar to Horsley Down were used for the Scargill Church. Another sale of work was held and although this was not as successful as 1904 it still raised £75:0:10 for the church. The parish also managed to collect £125:13:7 and were promised £35. This gave them somewhere in the region of £235 to spend on the church. According to an article in *The Press* of the opening of the church, it cost £155 to build¹⁰⁸ so the amount collected would have been more than enough to cover the building as well as the necessary equipment for worship. Wilford in fact managed to get much of this equipment donated by those connected with the parish. It seems that Wilford wrote up a list of the necessary equipment for the church compared to the 119th Psalm,¹⁰⁹ and had it distributed amongst the community asking people to donate an item from it. People appear to have willingly contributed to this as a bell, altar, linen, altar cross, candlesticks and kneelers amongst other items were given to the church. Dorothy appears to have embroidered another super frontal for this church as well.¹¹⁰

It is interesting to note that vestry specified in April 1906 that no building operations were to begin until approved by vestry.¹¹¹ It can be suggested from this that the vestry were familiar with the overwhelming enthusiasm of their young vicar. They had realised that once he had started on a plan it was difficult to get him to stop and wait for the necessary formalities to take place. This enthusiasm appears to have contributed to a major problem for the Scargill church. According to Wilford this

¹⁰⁷ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 36

¹⁰⁸ *The Press*, 30 May 1907, p. 9

¹⁰⁹ *New Zealand Church News*, vol. xxxv, no. 7. July 1907, p. 16

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ *Waikari Vestry Minute Book*, 3 April 1906

problem was to do with these regulations on church building: 'I knew nothing of diocesan regulations. We now discovered a very strict rule that no church was to be built before its plans and specifications were passed by a diocesan committee.'¹¹² According to the autobiography, Bishop Julius was able to clear up the resulting trouble whilst administering a rather fatherly scold.¹¹³ There is no record of this in the vestry minutes but it is possible that all of this activity occurred outside the vestry meetings and was therefore unreported. There is certainly no mention in the minutes of the plans and specifications for the church being sent to the Church Properties Trust. It is recorded in the Minutes that the plans and specifications for the Horsley Down church were sent to both the Church Properties Trust and Standing Committee.¹¹⁴ This certainly leads one to wonder how they missed doing the same thing for the Scargill church. Was it ignorance, as he claims in *Southern Cross and Evening Star*? This is certainly hard to believe if vestry had gone through the same procedure for church building only the previous year. One also has to wonder why no one in Vestry pointed this important piece of church law out to Wilford at the time. Perhaps the person who usually looked after these matters had left the vestry and no one had filled their place. There is however no evidence of this. It seems likely therefore that Wilford's enthusiasm for the project meant that he simply forgot to send the plans into the diocese for their approval. It is also possible that vestry were so infected by his enthusiasm, as happened later to many people involved in the St George's project, that they also forgot to send the plans in.

The successful fundraising for these two churches is a useful reflection upon the personality of John Russell Wilford. He appears to have adopted complete enthusiasm for both projects and also appears to have had enough charisma to inspire

¹¹² Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 37

¹¹³ Ibid, p. 37

¹¹⁴ *Waikari Vestry Minute Book*, 3 February 1905

it in others such as the vestry. This was probably the decisive factor in the completion of both of these churches as well as the incredible success of the Horsley Down fundraising campaign. This is because people stayed interested in the campaigns until their completion. This fervour for the project made it easier for people to become interested in the project and therefore donate money towards it. The *Church News* was also used, especially in the case of Horsley Down, to attract funds. Waikari, to a certain extent, helped Wilford to use and practice skills that would be so valuable in his later life.

Another feature of Wilford's time in Waikari that had a profound influence upon his future work in New Zealand was his interest in the Canterbury 'Pilgrims'. These Pilgrims are those who arrived in Canterbury on the First Four Ships in 1850 as part of the Canterbury Association settlement. Wilford first learned about the aims of the Pilgrims while in Waikari spending time with his great friend the Reverend C.A. Fraer, vicar of the Maori parish of Tuahiwi. In the pamphlet Wilford wrote about St George's he records: 'Here to me [in Waikari] came repeatedly the Rev. C.A. Fraer from his little Maori pah down south and saturated my mind with the history of the early days... Together as we traversed endless miles of beautiful North Canterbury scenery we heard the Pilgrims' voices'.¹¹⁵

The timing of Wilford's arrival in New Zealand could also have helped to develop his interest in the Pilgrims. In 1900, Christchurch celebrated the fiftieth jubilee of the arrival of the Pilgrims in Canterbury. Cookson writes that the celebrations gave the families of the Pilgrims a strong sense of their identity in Christchurch.¹¹⁶ It also brought forward the concept of the Pilgrims into the public mind as people would have been discussing it in relation to the jubilee as well as it

¹¹⁵ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, pp. 16-17

¹¹⁶ Cookson, p. 33

being in the news media at the time. It is likely that people were still discussing the Pilgrims when Wilford arrived in 1904, as the celebrations appear to have set the tone for the decade with a several other Pilgrim-related events taking place between 1900 and 1910. One of these was only a few months after Wilford's arrival on 1 November 1904 when the extensions to complete the Cathedral were consecrated.¹¹⁷ Bishop Julius was most important in sparking interest in the completion of the cathedral. The cathedral had been a main part of the Canterbury Association plans for Christchurch and Julius was quick to link the completion to the jubilee and because of that the concept of the Pilgrims.¹¹⁸ Its completion in 1904 meant that Wilford would probably have been hearing about the Pilgrims and the cathedral soon after his arrival in New Zealand. The other event related to the Pilgrims in this decade was the committee established in 1909 to collect historical documents relating to the founding of Christchurch.¹¹⁹ It is not hard to link these events back to Wilford and his interest in the Pilgrims. Due to these events, it is likely that the idea of the Pilgrims was in the Canterbury air when Wilford arrived. He could even have attended the consecration in 1904. It is possible that from his arrival onwards Wilford heard or read about the Pilgrims. Once his interest in them had been aroused he may well have asked Fraer or done some research of his own to find out more about them.

Wilford appears to have felt a certain affinity with the Pilgrims while in Waikari. There are several possible causes for this, the first being his own recent arrival from England. Wilford and his family, like the Pilgrims, was learning to live in a new land a long way from 'home'. He and the Pilgrims both had to become accustomed to a new landscape and different lifestyle from England. Wilford had

¹¹⁷ Brown, p. 68

¹¹⁸ Ibid, pp. 64-5

¹¹⁹ Cookson, p. 33

also, like some of the Pilgrims, come to Canterbury from Norwich.¹²⁰ He writes that ‘It was certainly not for nothing that I was sent to the backblocks where, among the silences of the great spaces, I heard the voices of the past’.¹²¹ What Wilford is referring to here is the type of pioneering lifestyle that he and his family endured while living in Waikari. He remembers in *Southern Cross and Evening Star* the primitive conditions of the vicarage that appears to have had no running water and plenty of rats.¹²² Dorothy Wilford however appears to have taken control of the situation like many of the early pioneering woman despite having little background in this type of lifestyle. ‘What a Trojan she was! A girl I had married from one of the most comfortable houses in Harley Street found herself with no water, no milk, no one to wash clothes, with chimneys that belched smoke into all the rooms... We had no sanitation.’¹²³ She never appears to have complained about any of this and instead ordered Wilford out of the house to do his parish work while she took care of the domestic matters.¹²⁴ This lifestyle would probably have helped Wilford to identify with the Pilgrims who had to endure a similar type of primitive lifestyle.

Wilford felt that, like the colonists on the First Four Ships, he was on a pilgrimage. Wilford’s own pilgrimage involved maintaining and developing the spiritual colony of the Church of England in Waikari. Another important similarity between Wilford and the Canterbury pilgrims was the religious nature of their pilgrimages. The 1850 pilgrims came out to form a settlement ‘composed entirely of members of our own church... with all the appliances requisite for carrying out her discipline.’¹²⁵ One of the most important reasons behind this was that ‘The Church of

¹²⁰ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 18

¹²¹ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 16

¹²² Wilford *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 14

¹²³ *Ibid*, p. 14

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 15

¹²⁵ *Canterbury Papers (1850-1852)*, (Christchurch: Kiwi Publishers, c.1995), p. 6

England... is sending forth a segment of her own body – a complete specimen of her organization- which may perpetuate the preservation of her doctrine and discipline amongst nations yet unborn.¹²⁶ These religious aims of the pilgrims would have been extremely important to Wilford as religion, particularly the Church of England variety was such an enormous part of his life. He also would have felt that he was continuing these spiritually related aims of the pilgrims by promoting the Church of England in his Waikari parish. The tending and the expansion of his flock, which was so important to Wilford, was also part of this continuity. Wilford felt he was preserving the Church of England in his parish by expansion. Wilford would have believed that in tending the souls of existing parishioners he was also maintaining the Church of England as he could encourage people to stay with the Church of England. He could show them that there was a place where their spiritual needs could be met. Wilford's interest in the Canterbury Pilgrims is therefore due to the strong connection he felt between his work and theirs.

Wilford did not remain in Waikari long after the Scargill church was built. In September of 1907, he received a letter from Bishop Julius requiring him to leave Waikari almost immediately and move to Prebbleton just outside of Christchurch to become the new vicar there. Wilford certainly did not seem to be entirely happy about this but decided that he should go. He wrote: 'The letter from the Bishop stunned us. I have always felt strongly that a priest must go where he is sent.'¹²⁷ There was one positive part of the move for the Wilfords, particularly Dorothy, in that they no longer had to endure the conditions of the Waikari vicarage.¹²⁸ The Waikari vestry were certainly not happy about losing Wilford. It is recorded in the minutes that they sent a letter to the Bishop presumably of complaint, as at the next meeting

¹²⁶ Ibid. p. 8

¹²⁷ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 39

¹²⁸ Ibid, p. 39

there was a response from Julius telling them that he could not accede to their request.¹²⁹ This is surely a testament to Wilford's popularity in the Waikari parish.

This popularity would certainly have been due to Wilford's work within the parish. He should be remembered as a vicar who had a huge impact upon the development of the Waikari parish. This is mostly due to his dedication in building and fundraising for the Horsley Down and the Scargill churches. The three years that Wilford spent at Waikari gives some very good indications as to what Wilford was like as a person. Firstly his reasons for moving to New Zealand to be vicar of Waikari show that he was extremely interested in local missionary work especially to communities like the railway workers who would not otherwise have been provided for spiritually. It also shows him to be a deeply religious man who believed that he should follow God's instructions for his life. He also believed it was important to care for his flock spiritually by visits, literature and services. Wilford's role in the building of the two new churches shows him as man with a great deal of enthusiasm and determination. He also was an incredibly skillful fundraiser who managed to not only get people to give money to both projects but also equipment so both churches were well supplied. These skills were to become so important on a much larger scale later in his life. His work in Waikari gave him the necessary practice to make people interested in both St George's and the extension of College House and to get these people to donate their money to these projects. Another important factor in his life that he learned at Waikari was to do with the Canterbury Pilgrims. It was here that he was told the stories of these pilgrims, which inspired him later in both the St George's and the College House campaigns.

¹²⁹ Waikari Vestry, 5 and 25 September 1907

Chapter Two

‘Continuous Prayer’ - Prebbleton and the 1910 General Mission

Wilford’s Anglo-Catholic churchmanship had a profound effect on his work in New Zealand and is particularly important when examining his time at Prebbleton during the 1910 General Mission of the New Zealand Anglican Church. Wilford was a moderate Anglo-Catholic who used the social focus of the movement, with its ministry to the working classes, as part of his parish ministry. The missionary nature of this work appealed to him and meant that he strongly supported the 1910 General Mission. As vicar of the Prebbleton parish he ensured that the mission reached all parts of his parish.

Wilford looked back fondly on the six years he and his family spent in Prebbleton between 1908 and 1913: ‘I used to dream of a home from which I might never be uprooted. I found such a home at Prebbleton... All the days there are days of happy memories’.¹³⁰ It was a far easier parish to manage than Waikari as the three parish centres - Prebbleton, Templeton and Hornby - were only spaced about five kilometres apart.¹³¹ Wilford did not need to travel long distances as in Waikari and would have found not only services, but also parish visiting far easier to manage. It was also a well-established parish without the frontier element of Waikari.

All three centres of the Prebbleton parish had churches, although the Prebbleton church had recently burnt down but had been quickly rebuilt.¹³² There were also existing Sunday Schools and other parochial organizations, which probably included prayer, study and social groups.¹³³ Prebbleton appears to have been a much

¹³⁰ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 42

¹³¹ Ibid, p. 48,

¹³² Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 50

¹³³ ‘Statistics Table’, *The Year Book for the Diocese of Christchurch for the Diocesan Year 1905-06*

bigger parish than Waikari. The main indication of this comes from data such as the Sunday school roll which was around 250 in 1909¹³⁴ while Waikari's roll stood at forty-three two years earlier.¹³⁵ The roll of communicants also points to this, as there were around 180 communicants in the first three years Wilford spent at Prebbleton while there were around 113 in the last two years he was at Waikari.¹³⁶ It should be noted however that while the Prebbleton Sunday Sschool roll was significantly larger than Waikari's the communicant roll was not.

The major difference between the two parishes however lay in the nature of the parishioners. Wilford wrote: 'At Waikari among the shepherds, at Prebbleton among the farmers and factory hands...'¹³⁷ From this it can be gathered that both parishes served farming communities except the types of farming were different. In Waikari it was sheep farming while in Prebbleton it was more likely to have been crop or dairy farming. The *New Zealand Index*, published in 1915, two years after Wilford's departure from the parish, says of Prebbleton: 'Splendid agricultural district... The land is capable of growing any kinds of roots or cereals, while for sheep and cattle rearing it is unequalled'.¹³⁸ Wilford also mentioned that Dorothy got potatoes for College House from Prebbleton farmers.¹³⁹ The main difference for Wilford was again due to distance as sheep farming creates more open spaces than crop farming. This meant that the Prebbleton parishioners were not as isolated as the Waikari ones and therefore had a different lifestyle. The short distance to Christchurch would also have resulted in a different type of parish. The parish

¹³⁴ 'Statistics Table' *Year Book for the Diocese of Christchurch for the Diocesan Year 1909-10* (Christchurch: Smith and Anthony, 1910)

¹³⁵ 'Statistics Table' *Year Book for the Diocese of Christchurch for the Diocesan Year 1907-08* (Christchurch: Smith and Anthony, 1908)

¹³⁶ 'Statistics Tables' *Year Books for the Diocese of Christchurch for the Diocesan Year 1906-07* (Christchurch: Smith and Anthony, 1907) and 'Statistics Table' *Year Book for the Diocese of Christchurch for the Diocesan Year 1910-11* (Christchurch: Smith and Anthony, 1911)

¹³⁷ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 46

¹³⁸ *New Zealand Index 1914*, (Dunedin: 1915), p. 366

¹³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 117

contained industrial areas as well. The *Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, says of Hornby in 1903: ‘The rapid growth of Hornby during recent years is chiefly due to the development and extension of the frozen meat industry, and the extra demand for labour at the Islington freezing works.’¹⁴⁰ There were also other freezing works at Hornby itself.¹⁴¹ These created the need for a different type of ministry as the congregation was partly made up of factory workers who had different spiritual needs to a farming community. The contrasts between Wilford’s work in Waikari and Prebbleton do not appear to have caused him any difficulty. As mentioned he used his experiences as a curate in Denver to help him in Waikari and he appears to have done the same in Prebbleton as he wrote: ‘At times I seemed to be back at Denver, Downham Market’.¹⁴² His work at Salter’s Lode Mine would especially have helped him with the factory workers.

One of the most interesting events occurring during Wilford’s time in Prebbleton was the General Mission of 1910. This was an entirely Anglican-based enterprise that was to cover the entire country throughout September, October and November of that year.¹⁴³ It was organized with the help of the English-based church that sent out twelve missionaries¹⁴⁴ to run missions at various churches throughout New Zealand. In the *Church News* article about the mission it was noted, however, that time did not permit the number of missionaries to operate in more than a few places in each diocese.¹⁴⁵ This meant some missions were held with local clergy acting as missionaries.¹⁴⁶ The English missionaries were selected to represent Low Church as well

¹⁴⁰ *Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, vol. 3, *Canterbury Provincial District*, vol. 3, (Christchurch, Cyclopaedia Company: 1903), p. 652

¹⁴¹ *New Zealand Index*, p. 160

¹⁴² *Ibid*, p. 47

¹⁴³ *New Zealand Church News*, vol. xxxviii, no. 3, March 1909, p. 4

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, vol. xl, no. 5, May 1910, p. 12

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, March 1909, p. 4

¹⁴⁶ *The Press*, 18 October 1910, p. 9

as High Church Anglicanism, the latter from the Anglo-Catholic Mirfield community.¹⁴⁷ The New Zealand church also had to pay for the mission. It was thought that at least £3500 would be required for the mission and each diocese was to pay a proportion.¹⁴⁸

The origin of the General Mission lay in the Mission of Help to South Africa in 1904, which was organized by the Church in England to help repair the South African Anglican Church after the South African War. It was also a mission of conversion aimed at providing spiritual guidance after the war.¹⁴⁹ A report regarding the success of this mission appeared in New Zealand in 1906.¹⁵⁰ Possibly in response to this Rev. T.H. Sprott, who became Bishop of Wellington in 1911, suggested to the Wellington Synod that New Zealand might like to consider also cooperating with the Church in England on a similar scheme.¹⁵¹ One historian has also noted that home missions, that is to say ones that were conducted amongst a congregation and in its immediate vicinity, were extremely popular at this point in time.¹⁵² This does appear to have been the case in England with the Mirfield Community in Yorkshire entirely devoted to these home missions.¹⁵³

There were two main aims to the 1910 General Mission. The first of these was, like the 1904 Mission of Help, conversion. At General Synod in 1910 when speaking of the General Mission, Rev. E.K. Mules spoke of 'paganism' being rife in New Zealand with thousands of children growing heathens. There were also social problems such as gambling and drinking.¹⁵⁴ The Mission would therefore attempt to

¹⁴⁷ *The Press*, 29 August 1910, p. 9

¹⁴⁸ *New Zealand Church News*, vol. xxxix, no. 1, January 1909, p. 4

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid*, vol. xxxvi, no. 8, August 1906, p. 12

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid*, p. 12

¹⁵¹ Morrell, p. 139

¹⁵² Roger Lloyd, *The Church of England 1900-1965*, (London: SCM Press, 1966) p. 135

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 135

¹⁵⁴ *The Press* 21 January 1910, p. 8

convert those affected by this ‘paganism’ and ‘draw the careless and ignorant within the circles of Divine grace; to make the thoughtless think, and the prayerless pray’.¹⁵⁵ They also wanted the mission to act as a spark to current churchgoers to help the development of their faith as well as providing inspiration: ‘together we shall invoke the Holy Spirit to inspire us anew with faith, and hope, and love’.¹⁵⁶ These aims, it was hoped, would be carried out in a weeklong mission. Throughout this week a series of services would be held by the missionary, who would lead the congregation in mission hymns and preach simple services aimed at a variety of groups, including women and children. There was a large emphasis placed upon prayer before, during and after the mission. Before the mission the congregation were asked to include the mission in their prayers and perhaps even hold weekly prayer meetings for the mission in the parish. During the mission prayer would play an important role in all of the mission services and at some churches it was expected that continuous prayer would take place in the church throughout the mission week. After the mission it was hoped that the ‘atmosphere’ of prayer would be maintained and perhaps people would be asked to pray that the work of the mission continue even after the missionaries had gone home.¹⁵⁷ The importance of prayer in conjunction with the mission would have greatly appealed to Wilford. Throughout his life he emphasized the importance of prayer. In a letter written in about 1950 to Dr L.C.L. Averill regarding the founding of St George’s, Wilford wrote:

Some of our greatest triumphs came about through the prayers of people tied to their beds... Two things go together or God’s work will be delayed – continuous prayer and continuous work. Unless work is by prayer woeful

¹⁵⁵ *New Zealand Church News*, March 1909, p. 4

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 4

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 4-5

mistakes will be made; and unless prayer is followed up by self-sacrificing work very little will result.¹⁵⁸

Certainly it would be impossible to be a clergyman and not advocate prayer but it is important when examining Wilford's theology to emphasise his belief in the power of prayer especially in connection with his work with St George's Hospital. He also strongly advocated prayer in conjunction with the earlier General Mission. In the May 1910 Prebbleton column of the *Church News* he wrote of the mission: 'We would urge upon all the absolute necessity of attending the weekly intercessions'.¹⁵⁹

Wilford and his family returned to England the year before the mission for a visit.¹⁶⁰ It seems that there was a dual purpose to this visit. Firstly they were probably going to visit friends and family who still lived in England. Wilford had several siblings who were resident in England and Dorothy had a number of cousins to visit.¹⁶¹ Dorothy did more visiting than Wilford as the main purpose of his visit was to learn more about missions. Bishop Julius arranged for Wilford to attend the clergy school at All Hallows, Barking.¹⁶² Arthur Robinson, who was involved in the 1904 Mission of Help, and was also the brother of Wilford's mentor Forbes Robinson, ran this institution, which had a strong focus on missions.¹⁶³ It is likely that this clergy school had a rather High Church approach to Anglicanism. Another Robinson brother, Armitage, took part in discussions with the Roman Catholic Church called the Malines conversation during the 1920s. All of those, including Armitage Robinson, were described as being 'prominent Anglo-Catholics'.¹⁶⁴ Although it is unfair to judge one brother's Anglicanism by another's, Wilford's later Anglo-

¹⁵⁸ Wilford to Averill, 1950

¹⁵⁹ *New Zealand Church News*, May 1910, p. 15

¹⁶⁰ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 82

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, pp. 93-4

¹⁶² *Ibid*, p. 88

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, p. 88 and *New Zealand Church News*, August 1906, p. 12

¹⁶⁴ Lloyd, p. 415

Catholic attitude, as well as the nature of home missions in England in 1909 do seem to indicate that this was an Anglo-Catholic enterprise.

It cannot be said that home missions were the sole domain of Anglo-Catholics. There was however a large amount of Anglo-Catholic interest in missions. Canon Body of Durham, an acknowledged Anglo-Catholic, invented the concept of the ten-day home mission. Although all other forms of Anglicanism adopted it as an evangelistic tool, it did to a certain extent lend itself best to the ritualistic nature of Anglo-Catholicism, which allowed it to stage missionary processions.¹⁶⁵ The creation of Anglican religious orders at this point in time also added to the concept of the Anglo-Catholic home mission. These religious orders were all Anglo-Catholic in nature. Mirfield in Yorkshire was one such order that entirely involved themselves in home missions.¹⁶⁶ Mirfield actually sent a couple of missionaries over to New Zealand as part of the General Mission.¹⁶⁷

Anglo-Catholicism as a concept must be explored in order to establish Wilford's Anglicanism.¹⁶⁸ The origins of Wilford's Anglo-Catholicism are unknown. If all three Robinson brothers were Anglo-Catholic it is possible that Wilford could have adopted some of his later Anglo-Catholic ideas from Forbes Robinson who seems to have had a large impact on Wilford's life.¹⁶⁹ Wilford's father, a clergyman, may also have influenced Wilford's churchmanship. It is however unknown as to what type of Anglicanism Wilford's father followed. If he had held Anglo-Catholic

¹⁶⁵ Lloyd, p. 135

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, p. 135

¹⁶⁷ *The Press*, August 29 1910, p. 9

¹⁶⁸ The most useful source for this is H. M. Bowron's M.A. thesis, *Anglo-Catholicism in the Diocese of Christchurch 1850-1920* which clearly outlines the development of Anglo-Catholicism in the nineteenth century. Owen Chadwick's *The Victorian Church* also provides an in-depth coverage of the movement in the 19th century setting while Marie Peter's *Christchurch, St Michael's: a Study in Anglicanism in New Zealand, 1851-1972* gives a good overview with an examination of its New Zealand context.

¹⁶⁹ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 8

views it may have influenced Wilford to follow suit. But it should be pointed out that there is no indication of any Anglo-Catholicism on Wilford's part prior to 1909.

Its origins lie in the Tractarian movement under Newman at Oxford in the 1830s, which sought to restore the spiritual autonomy of the Church of England in response to Whig attempts to diminish the authority of the Church through granting Catholics and Dissenters political freedom.¹⁷⁰ When these freedoms were finally granted by the Tory government in 1828 issues such as the Church's right to collect tithes from non-Anglicans came to the fore. The Church of England felt that its temporal authority was under threat but felt that it would assert its religious identity against competitors. The Tractarians wanted to see more emphasis placed upon the sacraments of the Church, which include the Eucharist, Baptism and Confirmation to 'develop a sense of corporate holiness amongst the people of God'.¹⁷¹ Not all those who identified themselves as Anglo-Catholic agreed with the rationale of the tractarians especially as the Tractarians disliked the ritualism that branded later forms of Anglo-Catholicism. Pusey, one of the most important Anglo-Catholics of the nineteenth century, held Tractarianism in great dislike.¹⁷² Tractarianism was however the beginning of attempts to move the Church of England closer to its Roman Catholic origins with its emphasis upon the sacraments. The links to Roman Catholicism were further developed by the Ritualistic movement which from the 1850s emphasized the 'six points' of celebrating Holy Communion facing the east, wearing vestments, mixing water with the wine in the chalice, using unleavened wafers, having candles on the altar and using incense.¹⁷³ The third part of Anglo-

¹⁷⁰ H.M. Bowron, *Anglo-Catholicism in the Diocese of Christchurch 1850–1920*, M.A. (History), University of Canterbury, 1975, p. 5

¹⁷¹ Bowron, p. 5

¹⁷² Herbert Leslie Stewart, *A Century of Anglo-Catholicism*, (London: J.M. Dent, 1929), p. 5

¹⁷³ Marie Peters, *Christchurch, St Michael's: a study in Anglicanism in New Zealand, 1851-1972*, (Christchurch, University of Canterbury, 1986), p. 99

Catholicism actually developed as a reaction to Tractarianism and is generally known as liberal Catholicism. Importance was placed upon Christian socialism by working amongst the poor. The establishment of the community at Mirfield is a good example of this ideology. They chose to live in West Yorkshire because of its industrial nature believing that they had a mission to work amongst the factory workers providing them with beauty in their lives in the form of worship rituals.¹⁷⁴ It is important, however, to realize that there was never one unified Anglo-Catholic movement. Instead there were a variety of different beliefs and levels of Anglo-Catholicism from those who were all but in name Roman Catholics to those who adhered to only some Anglo-Catholic practices.¹⁷⁵

There was some concern before the 1910 General Mission that it would be too Anglo-Catholic in nature. One correspondent to *The Press* wrote expressing his concern at the appointment of Mirfield missionaries. It is indicative of his Anglicanism that he signs himself 'Protestant' signaling a Low Church approach to Anglicanism.¹⁷⁶ The debate that was triggered by this letter is interesting in that it illustrates the various attitudes towards Anglo-Catholicism that were held in Christchurch in 1910. There was a certain amount of hostility toward Anglo-Catholics, as demonstrated by 'Protestant'. These critics were concerned about preserving the Protestant nature of the Anglican Church and therefore disliked the Catholic ritual of Anglo-Catholicism. 'Protestant' wrote that one of the Mirfield missionaries declared 'on practically every point except the infallibility of the Pope they believed and taught the doctrines of the Catholic Church'.¹⁷⁷ Concern was expressed that those from Mirfield would preach Anglo-Catholic doctrine. A letter from 'Church of England' wanted assurance that

¹⁷⁴ <http://www.mirfield.org.uk/cr/howcome.asp>

¹⁷⁵ Peters, p. 100

¹⁷⁶ *The Press*, 30 August 1910, p. 9

¹⁷⁷ Ibid

there would be not teaching during the mission that would offend a Low Churchman.¹⁷⁸ The response to these letters was divided between those concerned at Catholics harming the mission¹⁷⁹ and a few, such as Rev. P. H. Pritchett who defended Anglo-Catholicism. Pritchett definitely belonged to the Anglo-Catholic camp as he had published a work entitled *Why I am an Anglo-Catholic*.

At the same time as this discussion occurred, Rev. H. D. Burton, the new Vicar of St Michael and All Angels, a leading city church of Christchurch, had just arrived. Burton was noted for his Anglo-Catholic stance and was responsible for introducing ritualistic worship to the parish. In September 1910 he was beginning to make his presence felt. There were several letters to the paper complaining about some of his practices including the wearing of vestments.¹⁸⁰ Another controversy involved a sermon he preached which some people interpreted as in favour of the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. Although Burton publicly refuted this¹⁸¹ some parishioners did not believe him.¹⁸² These anti Anglo-Catholic attitudes closely mirrored a number of debates taking place in England throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth. Queen Victoria made no secret of her dislike of the movement¹⁸³ while Bishop Stubbs of Oxford wrote in 1899 of the ‘Anglo-Catholic movement as a reactionary, disloyal, underhand, intriguing conspiracy... to lead us on, or lead us back to the state of sacerdotalism, Jesuitry... effete ritualism, immoral dependence on exploded ordinances, false morality’.¹⁸⁴ Burton’s reception alone indicated that this aversion to Anglo-Catholicism still lasted

¹⁷⁸ *The Press*, 2 September 1910, p. 8

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 31 August 1910, p. 8

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 2 September 1910, p. 9

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, 17 October 1910, p. 8

¹⁸² *Ibid*, 18 October 1910, p. 9

¹⁸³ Lloyd, p. 126

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 125-6

less than a decade later; indeed 'Protestant' wrote of the lawlessness and idolatry that heralded Mirfield missions.¹⁸⁵

The repugnance toward the movement may also have provided Wilford with another reason for leaving England. There was political pressure in England between 1899 and 1903 to get rid of ritualism in the Church from Low Church members of parliament. This culminated in the 1904 Royal Commission of Ecclesiastic Discipline.¹⁸⁶ The results of this commission did not have the intended effect as the results, released in 1906, were neither against nor in favour of Anglo-Catholics. Instead they resolved that there should be diversity in the English church in order to maintain its survival.¹⁸⁷ Nevertheless, in 1903 hostility to Anglo-Catholic sentiments may have persuaded Wilford to look for greater tolerance in another part of the world.

The Prebbleton section of the 1910 General Mission contained some Anglo-Catholic elements. A separate mission was held in each of the three main centres of the Prebbleton parish during the Christchurch leg of the Mission. As Wilford could not get English ministers for all three he instead recruited Rev. E.K. Mules - who made the speech on paganism and was also appointed by General Synod to be responsible for Home Missions¹⁸⁸ - for Templeton.¹⁸⁹ Rev. W. W. Sedgwick, who was soon to become Bishop of Waiapu, was the missionary at Hornby.¹⁹⁰ The missionaries for Prebbleton give one clue as to the nature of the parish under Wilford. As already noted the English missionaries were matched to parishes according to their churchmanship so it is interesting that H.W. Jones, the missionary for Prebbleton, was

¹⁸⁵ *The Press*, 1 September 1910, p. 8

¹⁸⁶ Bowron, p. 20

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 21

¹⁸⁸ *The Press* 21 Jan 1910, p. 8

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 18 October 1910, p. 9

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 24 October 1910, p. 8

first at the Phillipstown parish.¹⁹¹ By 1910 the Phillipstown parish, with Rev. H. E. Ensor as vicar, was well established as Anglo-Catholic with a number of ritualistic furnishings, including a crucifix and vestments, gifted to the parish.¹⁹² Some indication of the nature of the Prebbleton parish under Wilford can be taken from appointment of Jones to the Prebbleton mission. This does point to Wilford having Anglo-Catholic inclinations by 1910 and that he had introduced some elements of it to his parish. It is highly unlikely that Prebbleton was an Anglo-Catholic parish before the arrival of Wilford as he notes that his predecessor had been a Congregationalist minister.¹⁹³ It does not appear that the Prebbleton parish had a problem with Wilford's Anglo-Catholicism as he speaks of how happy he was in the parish. Nor do the vestry minutes reveal any conflict in the parish.

The Templeton mission made use of processions during its mission. During the week of the mission a service was held every evening. In the hour before the meeting a large section of the congregation would process around the road following a white cross.¹⁹⁴ This was an excellent method of bringing the mission into the community and help fulfill its conversion aims. It also appears to have been a fairly Anglo-Catholic method of doing so as processions are usually ceremonial in nature. It does appear that processions were a part of some missions. The Christ Church Cathedral also held one during the 1910 mission complete with lanterns, raised crosses and choirboys in surplices and cassocks.¹⁹⁵ This was perhaps more ceremonial than some Low Churchmen would have liked and indeed raised comment from 'J.I.' who wrote to *The Press* that he wanted Practical Christianity not

¹⁹¹ Ibid, 29 October 1910, p. 12

¹⁹² Bowron, pp. 143-145

¹⁹³ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 49

¹⁹⁴ *The Press*, 18 October 1910, p. 9

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, 20 October 1910, p. 6

processions.¹⁹⁶ It is difficult to establish whether processions were part of Low Church missions but it is probable that they were not as the amount of ceremony involved would not have appealed in those parishes.

Another Anglo-Catholic element of the mission was the services held for the workers at the Islington freezing works during the Templeton section.¹⁹⁷ These were held during the worker's dinner hour and were apparently popular as it was noted that almost every employee attended them.¹⁹⁸ This is a good example of the liberal Catholicism as practiced by Mirfield preaching to the working classes. It is however unknown if this mission to the factory was conducted with the Anglo-Catholic attention to ritual. It should also be noted that Rev. E. K. Mules, briefly a curate under Burton at St Michael's,¹⁹⁹ was at this time missionary to those working on the construction of the midland railway at Otira.²⁰⁰ It would have been possible not to be Anglo-Catholic and still be interested in missionary work with workers. It was however, an important feature of Anglo-Catholicism in the early twentieth century. Wilford noted that one of the missions he was involved in during his 1909 English trip was to the working class in a 'thickly populated suburb of London'.²⁰¹ Mules and Wilford's subsequent friendship could also indicate similar doctrinal beliefs.²⁰² It is also interesting to note the similarities between Mules's work in Otipua and Wilford's attempted missionary activity to the railway community out of Scargill. It is therefore quite likely that the mission to the factory workers was inspired by Anglo-Catholic thought of the time.

¹⁹⁶ *The Press*, 25 October 1910, p. 8

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 21 October 1910, p. 6

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, 20 October 1910, p. 6

¹⁹⁹ Peters, p. 149

²⁰⁰ Stephen Parr, *Canterbury Pilgrimage*, (Christchurch: Centennial Committee of the Diocese of Christchurch, 1951), p. 121

²⁰¹ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 94

²⁰² *Ibid*, p. 101

The Prebbleton mission had other attributes that were typical of Wilford's organisational skills. The first of these was the amount of preparation that went into the mission. Organisation began on 22 January 1910, nine months before the beginning of the mission, with a meeting to discuss the work involved. Wilford had just returned from England, presumably with a great deal of information about missions, which he discussed with the parish. It was at this meeting that the Flying Squadron was formed that would help promote the mission to the community. Wilford also ensured that the prayer section got underway immediately as he viewed that as vital to the success of the mission. 'Others we hope to have whose work will be rather contemplative and intercessory. The Mission must above all things be a praying Mission... All will pray or their work will be useless, but we want part of our squadron to make this their only work.'²⁰³ Later in the year intercession services were held to pray for the success of the coming mission.²⁰⁴ As in Waikari, Wilford made use of S.P.C.K material, only this time it was in conjunction with the Mission. There also appears to have been some local pamphlets printed especially for the Mission, which he acquired. He saw this material as another good method of promotion and so stamped it with the dates of the mission.²⁰⁵ The Flying Squadron was then responsible for the distribution of this material into the community. It appears that they visited each house in the parish fortnightly with different types of material.²⁰⁶ These texts seem to have been popular as Wilford wrote about some houses that were not receiving visits from the Squadron but wanted them. He also mentioned that many people had enjoyed the material.²⁰⁷

²⁰³ *New Zealand Church News*, vol. xl, no. 2, February 1910, p. 15

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*, vol. xl, no. 7, July 1910, p. 15

²⁰⁵ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 100

²⁰⁶ *New Zealand Church News*, May 1910, p. 15

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*, vol. xl, no. 7, July 1910, p. 15

It is difficult to gauge the success of the Prebbleton mission. Wilford himself believed it to have been successful and gives some examples of those touched by the mission. One elderly gentleman, who had not attended church for some years but whose wife did, saw one of the processions and as a result of this was confirmed and became a regular. Another man began attending again after forty years away from the church.²⁰⁸ It was not just the non-church goers who Wilford records were affected by the mission. One woman whom Wilford described as ‘the most faithful and devout in the whole congregation, came to the vicarage with tears of joy to tell... me she had been converted’.²⁰⁹ In these three specific cases the mission had fulfilled its two main aims of conversion and inspiration. Probably the figure that tells the most about the success of the mission is the number of confirmations in 1910. In 1910 there were thirty-nine confirmations in the parish compared to nineteen in 1908, none in 1909 and fourteen in 1911.²¹⁰ This unusually high number of confirmations in the year of the mission does seem to indicate that it achieved some success. Confirmation numbers would be the most likely to rise after the mission due to the nature of confirmation, which is not only admission to communion but also a personal commitment to faith. It is necessary to be baptized before being confirmed and as there are no adult baptisms recorded at Prebbleton in 1910 or 1911²¹¹ it seems that the mission most appealed to those who had previously had some contact with the church. It is interesting to note that the number of people on the communicant roll increased in 1911. After three years of around the 180 mark the numbers increased to 194 in

²⁰⁸ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 101

²⁰⁹ Ibid, p. 102

²¹⁰ ‘Statistics Table’ *Year Book for the Diocese of Christchurch for the Diocesan Year 1908-09* (Christchurch: Smith and Anthony, 1909) and ‘Statistics Tables’ from Year Books 1909-10 and 1910-11

²¹¹ ‘Statistics Table’ *Year Book for the Diocese of Christchurch for the Diocesan Year 1910-1911*

1911²¹² showing that at least some of those inspired by the mission stayed with the parish. On the whole it appears that the Prebbleton mission was successful as it attracted a number of people back to church and also may well have inspired other current members of the parish.

It is important to look at Wilford's Anglo-Catholicism aside from the mission, as it is important for understanding some of his later actions. He never bluntly states anywhere in any of his writings that he was an Anglo-Catholic, unlike P. H. Pritchett. A few of the things that he does write alongside his actions do appear to indicate that he was in favour of some level of Anglo-Catholicism. One of the clearest descriptions of his use of Anglo-Catholic ritual is in a description of one part of his ministry at Prebbleton. He writes of baptism

I have always made a point of bringing what ceremony I can into the service...

I take down with me servers who attend to the ewer, the shell and the towel.

One hands me the purple stole, and another takes charge of the white one... to take off the purple stole immediately the waters of baptism have washed away all traces of sin does seem to me to give a lesson through the eye. At

Prebbleton we made for a little boy server a red cassock and put on him a dear little cotta.²¹³

It seems from this statement that Wilford was moderately Anglo-Catholic – he enjoyed some of the rituals of the Anglo-Catholic tradition but not all of it. His views on vestments are unclear but as he dressed the server it is probable that he also wore them. He does not appear to have used some of more radical rituals such as incense or crucifixes and even writes: 'I am never such that the changing of the stole is the right thing, because I am coming increasingly to believe that anything approaching

²¹² 'Statistics Table' *Year Book for the Diocese of Christchurch for the Diocesan Year 1911-12*

²¹³ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, pp. 63-4

fussiness in our services should be avoided.’²¹⁴ He did however write this statement forty years after the General Mission so it is possible that his views on ceremony had changed. The social consciousness of the 1890s liberal Anglo-Catholic movement would have appealed strongly to Wilford especially in view of how much emphasis he placed on the charitable nature of St George’s in the 1920s as well as his work with missions to the working class in Denver and Waikari.

Wilford’s interest in the Canterbury Pilgrims can also be related to his Anglo-Catholicism. Although the Canterbury settlement was not a tractarian²¹⁵ venture there were still some prominent tractarians involved including Lord John Manners and Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce.²¹⁶ Godley himself had some sympathy for Newman and his ideals as he wrote in 1841; ‘You must not think... that I am an unqualified admirer of the Tracts...but still I like, on the whole, the tendencies of their writings’.²¹⁷ The role of these tractarians may have helped to inspire Wilford’s interest in the Pilgrims alongside his interest in the religious ideals of the settlement. These ideals were not for their time Anglo-Catholic in nature but Godley’s own ideals for a ‘pious and just hierarchical society in which wealth ceased to determine social position and the privileged protected the weak’²¹⁸ are certainly connected to Wilford’s vision of a private hospital with a religious and charitable focus. Wilford’s own interest in history also connects his Anglo-Catholicism to his fascination with the Pilgrims. The ritualistic nature of Anglo-Catholicism takes pre-Reformation church traditions and incorporates them into modern worship. Wilford’s interest in the Pilgrims meant he took the principles of the foundations of Christchurch and sought

²¹⁴ Ibid, p. 64

²¹⁵ Tractarianism was the stage of Anglo-Catholicism current at the time of the establishment of the colony.

²¹⁶ Bowron, pp. 33-4

²¹⁷ Ibid, p. 25 quoting a letter from Godley to Adderley, 29 March 1841

²¹⁸ Ibid, p. 28

to fulfill the aims of the settlers of religion as part of everyday life. Wilford was also perhaps responding to the Canterbury Associations ideal of an Anglican society where the religious authority of the Anglican Church prevailed as it had done in 'Old England'. This church-based community in Christchurch was obviously intended to be one where the Anglican traditions enjoyed special status.

Wilford's College House students all appear to have had different concepts of how Anglo-Catholic Wilford actually was. In a thesis on Canon Orange, D.G.S. Rathgen quoted a series of interviews held with students who had been under Wilford at College House. Rev. H.M. Cocks described Wilford as being 'an extreme Anglo-Catholic' and said that 'his theology was simply medieval'.²¹⁹ Cocks's father had been vicar of St John's, Latimer Square that has always been a 'Low Church' congregation.²²⁰ Another past student, Rev. H.F. Ault said that 'Wilford was an Anglo-Catholic, but not violently so'.²²¹ The most important evidence of Wilford's Anglo-Catholicism was that in 1916 Bishop Julius offered Wilford the living of St Michael and All Angels.²²² Since the advent of Burton at St Michael's in 1910 it had been an Anglo-Catholic church and after the departure of Burton in 1915 the churchwardens seemed to want to continue with this style of worship as they eventually appointed Rev. C. E. Perry another Anglo-Catholic to the parish. Perry had actually clashed with churchwardens and the most important benefactor of his previous parish of Camberwell in the Melbourne diocese over his desire to use ritualistic elements such as candles and vestments during the services.²²³ Julius, in his selection of Wilford as Vicar of St Michaels, also appears to have accepted its Anglo-

²¹⁹ D.G.S. Rathgen, *The Church in New Zealand 1890-1920 with special reference to W.A. Orange*, L.Th.Hons, New Zealand Board of Theological Studies, 1969, p. 143

²²⁰ Ibid, p. 143 quoting Schroder

²²¹ Ibid, interview with Ault, p. 143

²²² Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 127

²²³ Peters, p. 116

Catholic status. Wilford does appear to have been a far more moderate Anglo-Catholic than either Burton or Perry so it is possible that Julius, in inviting Wilford to St Michael's, was hoping to tone the Anglo-Catholicism of the parish down. Wilford refused the offer after much thought as he decided that he wanted to continue his work at College House.²²⁴ Wilford's Anglo-Catholicism can also be seen later during his time in Christchurch as he often preached at Phillipstown on a Sunday morning.²²⁵ Phillipstown was not only the parish of his good friend Rev C. A. Fraer from 1917 onwards but had also remained Anglo-Catholic under Fraer who took over the parish from Ensor.²²⁶ It is unlikely that Wilford would have attended Phillipstown so regularly if he had not enjoyed the style of worship, which it offered, despite his friendship with Fraer.

Wilford can be viewed in light of this evidence as a moderate Anglo-Catholic. He was not as interested in the ritualistic nature of the movement as Burton or Perry although he did like certain aspects of it. Wilford seemed to mostly enjoy the missionary nature of Anglo-Catholicism. This is evident in his approach to the Prebbleton section of the General Mission of 1910 as well as his trip to England in 1909 to study missions. He also strongly believed in the power of prayer and incorporated this in to the preparation for the mission. The 1910 mission also demonstrated Wilford's brilliant organisational skills, which would be important in all of his future work.

²²⁴ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 128

²²⁵ Ibid, p. 177

²²⁶ Bowron, p. 145

Chapter Three

‘Completing the work of the Pilgrims’ – Wilford at College House

Wilford accepted the position of Principal of College House²²⁷ in April 1913.²²⁸ He remained at College House for nineteen years, until he left New Zealand for England at the end of 1932. He is a significant figure in the history of the House because he did not allow College House to be closed during World War I when numbers were extremely low. He was able to build up the House after 1918 so that it was in a strong position by 1932. He was also the main force behind the campaign to rebuild College House so that it could become a modern residential college. This campaign was inspired by Wilford’s interest in the Canterbury Pilgrims as he saw the rebuilding as a way of fulfilling the Canterbury Association’s original goals for a college.²²⁹

Wilford mentioned that he and his family were on the verge of going back to England when College House was offered to him. The only clue as to why Wilford decided to leave is given in a letter to *The Press* in 1923 when he mentions that he had come to New Zealand ‘to serve for a term of years’²³⁰. It can be gathered from this that Wilford had come to New Zealand to work for a certain amount of time, which would expire around 1913. It is unclear whether this term of years was a contract with the Diocese or whether Wilford himself had decided that he would be in New Zealand for a specific period of time. It is more likely to be the latter as there is no

²²⁷ More formally known as the Upper or Collegiate Department of Christ’s College

²²⁸ Minutes of the Christ’s College Board of Governors, 11 April 1913, p. 63, Christ’s College, Christchurch

²²⁹ ‘Scheme for the Establishment of a College, in or near the capital city of the settlement of Canterbury, New Zealand, and to be called the Christ-Church College’ in *Canterbury Papers 1850-1852*, op.cit, p. 101

²³⁰ *The Press*, 1 May 1923, p. 8

formal record of any clergyman at this period in time being on such a contract with the Diocese of Christchurch.

Another factor that would have contributed to this decision to return home was his family. In 1912²³¹ Dorothy had given birth to another son, Forbes, and Wilford may well have decided that England was a better place to raise his young family than New Zealand. Dorothy herself provided another reason, as she had been extremely ill for some months after the birth of Forbes.²³² England would be better for her health than New Zealand due to the high quality medical care there. Although the Wilfords decided to stay in New Zealand this does not mean that Wilford put his interest in the Pilgrims before his wife's health. Wilford's references to his wife in *Southern Cross and Evening Star* give a good picture of their relationship. He writes: 'I depended on her at almost every turn, and always made my biggest mistakes when she was away from me.'²³³ It can be taken from this that Wilford would have discussed the College House appointment with Dorothy before accepting it. Dorothy also seemed, in 1913, to be making a good but slow recovery from her illness. It is interesting to note that the Wilfords were lent a cottage in Clifton by the Sisters of the Community of the Sacred Name for Dorothy's use while she was ill.²³⁴ After this the Wilfords decided to buy their own place at 14 Victoria Terrace, Clifton,²³⁵ probably for Dorothy's health.

Wilford's interest in the Pilgrims was one of the key factors in his decision to stay and accept the College House position. He writes that 'Nothing would have kept me but what I learnt then of the ambitions of the founders of Christ's College

²³¹ *Prebbleton Duplicate Baptism Register*, Parish Records of Halswell-Prebbleton, PAR26, Christchurch Diocesan Archives

²³² Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, pp. 105-6

²³³ *Ibid*, p. 116

²³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 106

²³⁵ *Church News*, vol. Lxiii, no. 4, October 1932, p. 18

Canterbury. There are few things in history to compare with the enthusiasm, the foresight, and the courage of those men of early days.’²³⁶ Wilford’s interest in the Pilgrims and his desire to complete their work as much as possible had a profound effect on the work he was to do at College House especially his ambition to rebuild College House as an Oxbridge style college.

The Board of Governors of Christ’s College appointed Wilford as Principal of College House at a meeting on 11 April 1913. It was proposed by Rev. Phillip Cocks and seconded by Mr Henry Cotterill.²³⁷ Wilford certainly appears to have had the ideal qualifications and experience for the academic role of Principal of College House. The *Church News* certainly thought so. In announcing his appointment to the job it said that ‘it would be hard to find a man better qualified than Mr. Wilford by ransacking the home universities’.²³⁸ Despite eye trouble, he had a distinguished academic record from Christ’s College, Cambridge. He won two academic prizes there, one being the Carus Greek Testament Prize as well as the Ridout Theological Prize.²³⁹ The *Church News* writes that he ‘would have certainly obtained first-class honours but for a break-down of health’.²⁴⁰ Wilford also completed a Bachelor of Divinity from Trinity College, Dublin in 1908 while at Prebbleton. The academic role of the Principal involved delivering a series of compulsory lectures to the College House students, as the Principal was also the Watts-Russell Professor of Divinity and

²³⁶ *The Press*, 1 May 1923, p. 8

²³⁷ Minutes of the Christ’s College Board of Governors, 11 April 1913, p. 63. It is interesting that these two names are recorded alongside Wilford’s nomination. Rev. Cocks was later vicar of St John the Baptist, Latimer Square and a ‘Low Church’ man – at the other end of the Anglican spectrum from Wilford. Cotterill, on the other hand, later came into conflict with Wilford over Wilford’s scheme to rebuild College House.

²³⁸ *Church News*, vol. xlvii, no. 11, 1 May, 1923, p. 20

²³⁹ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, introduction

²⁴⁰ *Church News*, 1 May 1923, p. 20

the Hulsean-Chichele Professor of Modern History.²⁴¹ Both of these professorships had been set up by the Canterbury Association and endowed by its supporters.

College House, at this stage in its history, was combination of a theological college and a university boarding hostel. Wilford was required to prepare theological students for the Board of Theological Studies exams²⁴² and for life in ordained ministry. In order to prepare his students well for parish ministry, Wilford introduced a Diploma in Pastoral Theology in 1927.²⁴³ This qualification included sections on teaching, counselling, worship, parish life and oratory.²⁴⁴ Wilford's experience of parish ministry in New Zealand as vicar of Waikari and then Prebbleton would have given him much practical knowledge of parish work. His interest in pastoral care was especially demonstrated in his work at Waikari. One example showing the value of his experience is his recommendation to the students that they have a parish magazine. It was, he said, 'the only curate... many of them would ever possess'²⁴⁵ and an excellent way of reaching their entire parish. He also invited Bishop Julius to come and give the students elocution lessons.²⁴⁶ This is an important skill for any clergyman who has to deliver sermons.

College House also offered students a collegiate lifestyle. Most students resided at College House while studying at the university but there were major differences between College House and the other university hostels, such as Rolleston House. The first difference lay in the religious nature of College House. All students were required to attend three morning services each week as well as Compline at

²⁴¹ Wilford *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 133 Both of these Professorships were part of College House rather than the University of Canterbury

²⁴² *Resolutions passed at a meeting of the Governing Body of Christ's College*, June 20, 1887, p. 3, Christ's College Archive, CCUD/1/2

²⁴³ Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 29 April 1927, p. 95

²⁴⁴ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 150

²⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 61

²⁴⁶ Rathgen, p. 152

10pm each evening in the College Chapel.²⁴⁷ It was also compulsory to attend the weekly House lectures.²⁴⁸ The academic side of the college with the training of theological students was also another major difference between College House and other university boarding establishments. Wilford was insistent that the religious nature of College House be preserved. He often came up against parents who wanted their sons to come to College House but did not want them to take part in the religious side. To one such parent he wrote:

Over seventy years ago, faithful men founded Christ's College because they wanted to be sure that John Smith (I don't give his real name) during his university career should live under the influence of the Church, attend divinity lectures, and gather inspiration for his work from the chapel in the midst of the College.²⁴⁹

Wilford also saw that the religious teaching and discipline of the College provided the students with excellent life skills as he believed that rules helped to aid a person's self discipline.²⁵⁰ He mentions this being the case with one student who was one of the worst truants from chapel. Some years later Wilford heard that he was now doing excellent work as a churchwarden in a struggling parish.²⁵¹ He also believed that the compulsory chapel services provided students with a sense of community. One occasion he remembered well was during one period when 'a black cloud was hovering over the College... for ten days all the students, of whom a quarter were theological, gave themselves to continuous prayer. This was done with no lead from

²⁴⁷ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 134

²⁴⁸ M.E. Knight, *A history of College House, the collegiate department of Christ's College, Christchurch, Canterbury, New Zealand*, MA (History), University of Canterbury, 1932, appendix of 1920 prospectus of College House

²⁴⁹ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 135

²⁵⁰ Ibid, p. 135

²⁵¹ Ibid, p. 134

me, and I believe originated with a non-theological student.²⁵² Wilford also re-established a College House magazine, this time called *The House*, which also added to the communal lifestyle of the College.²⁵³ This was run by the students and contained their jokes, often at Wilford's expense, as well as matters that concerned them. The religious lifestyle of the College was assisted by the fact that most of the students belonged to the Church of England. Although Wilford took students who were not Church of England, preference was still given to those who were, particularly when the college was short of accommodation.²⁵⁴

Wilford's only experience with this type of institution before becoming Principal of College House was when he was himself a member of Christ's College, Cambridge. Apart from that he had no experience and probably little knowledge of how an institution like College House operated. This made his organisational skills, alongside Dorothy's housekeeping skills, essential in running the day-to-day life of the College. Wilford would also have adapted the skills he gained as a parish priest to aid him in the pastoral care of his students. Wilford's level of skill in this area is not recorded however. His religious beliefs and training also enabled him to uphold the religious nature of the College.

Wilford's predecessor at College House was Rev. Charles Walter Carrington who left to become Dean of Christchurch's Cathedral.²⁵⁵ Carrington had come out from England in 1903 specifically to be Principal of College House.²⁵⁶ He was

²⁵² Ibid, p. 135

²⁵³ Andrew Stockley, *College House New Zealand's First University College*, An unpublished manuscript on the history of College House, p. 44. There was an earlier magazine called *The Chichelian* which was produced from 1885-6

²⁵⁴ *The Press*, 6 March 1923, p. 7

²⁵⁵ Brown, p. 12 There has been on going discussion about the correct name for the Anglican Cathedral in Christchurch with it being referred amongst many names as Christ Church Cathedral, Christchurch Cathedral and All Saint's Cathedral

²⁵⁶ Ibid, p. 88

remembered fondly by students under him for his interesting lectures²⁵⁷ as well as his height of six feet and three inches.²⁵⁸ Wilford writes of him as

A man whose brilliant intellect blinded him to the smaller things in life, and whose gracious wife was wise in everything but in facing the problems of the management of a college's household arrangements. The sort of people they were was shown by their confession that they were bequeathing to us domestic problems which had completely baffled them²⁵⁹

One writer of the history of College House wonders if Wilford was unduly critical about Carrington in this passage.²⁶⁰ This may well be the case although Wilford does praise him for his humility, scholarship and lectures.²⁶¹ The two men did have different styles as Principal and Wilford does acknowledge this in this statement.

Wilford himself had considerable organisational and management skills as can be seen from his various fundraising campaigns. This may well have impacted upon his impression of Carrington as Principal. He certainly inherited some major financial problems when he came to College House. Some of these were caused by the system of running College House where the Principal was responsible for its financial and household management. Wilford credits Dorothy, who had a team of staff who were not always reliable²⁶², with the success of the domestic arrangements. She learnt how to get good quality food at low prices, which was important during the financial stringency of the First World War. She always bought her vegetables wholesale and made her own jam and bottled fruit.²⁶³ By the 1920s Wilford had decided that he and Dorothy could no longer run all of the domestic functions of the college. In

²⁵⁷ *The House*, Sept 1913, Vol.1, Issue 1, p. 4

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*, Sept 1913, p. 3 and Brown, p. 89

²⁵⁹ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 108

²⁶⁰ Stockley, p. 44

²⁶¹ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 108

²⁶² *Ibid*, p. 118

²⁶³ *Ibid*, pp. 116-7

December of 1922 he asked to Board to appoint a matron to run the boarding side of the College.²⁶⁴ He again asked them about this in March 1923 to which the response was that it was still under negotiation.²⁶⁵ There was some discussion of Dorothy taking over this role in November 1923²⁶⁶ but a Miss Gresson was appointed Matron in February 1924.²⁶⁷ This would have eased Dorothy's workload to some degree. When the Board decided to appoint a matron they also resolved to reduce Wilford's administrative role at College House.

Up until 1924 the Board had given the Principal a sum of money per student to run the College. From this sum of money the Principal was supposed to derive part of his salary.²⁶⁸ Wilford disliked this system and asked the Board to take over the financial management of the College: 'In the olden days private gain was looked upon as something quite legitimate... But it is clear today that any profit an institution can make should go back into the institution'.²⁶⁹ This system would not have helped Wilford or the financial state of the College during World War I when student numbers were so low. In 1917 Wilford estimated that the college needed twelve students to pay expenses.²⁷⁰ If this figure is applied to Carrington's ten-year period it can be seen that he was always very close to that mark. The numbers never varied much, the highest being thirteen students in 1902, 1906, 1910 and 1912 and the lowest ten in 1904 and 1911.²⁷¹ This meant that College House would only just have been breaking even or running at a loss for most of this time. Wilford said that when

²⁶⁴ Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 14 December 1922, p. 513

²⁶⁵ Ibid, 8 March 1923, p. 522

²⁶⁶ Ibid, 8 November 1923, p. 572

²⁶⁷ Ibid, 7 February 1924, p. 2

²⁶⁸ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 116 and Knight, p. 146

²⁶⁹ Knight, p. 146, Wilford's Annual Report to the Board 1923

²⁷⁰ Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 10 March 1917, p. 151

²⁷¹ G. C. Weston, *The College House List, 1954* (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1956), pp. 37-48

he took over in 1913 the college was 'an almost bankrupt estate'.²⁷² Difficulties with finance emerged very soon after this with the outbreak of World War I. The war had a negative impact upon the college as those men who would have been students were away fighting. Numbers fell to a very low level with only nine in residence in 1916 and eight in 1918.²⁷³ Wilford also believed that there was even talk of closing the college.²⁷⁴ All the other New Zealand theological training colleges, including St John's in Auckland and Selwyn College in Dunedin, were closed at some point during the war.²⁷⁵ It is a testament to Wilford's determination and strength of character that this did not happen at College House. His handling of financial matters during this period is a good demonstration of this. When Wilford discussed college finances with the Board in 1916 he reported that there were only seven students²⁷⁶ resulting in serious loss of revenue. The Board resolved to give its £5 House fee, which it received from each pupil, to Wilford to help him.²⁷⁷ There is some indication that Wilford used his own money to make up some of the deficit as did Percy Williams at St John's College during his time there from 1910-15 and 1915-20.²⁷⁸ Wilford managed to persuade the Board to change this system in 1923 when it was resolved that the Board should take over catering and business management of the college from December 1924.²⁷⁹

Another outcome of the war was that fourteen former Housemen were killed in World War I²⁸⁰ while at least thirty served during the war in some capacity. Some,

²⁷² Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 108

²⁷³ College House photos in the College House library

²⁷⁴ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 116

²⁷⁵ Morrell, p. 140

²⁷⁶ presumably the College either lost or gained two students between this report and the photo being taken

²⁷⁷ Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 10 March 1916, p. 151

²⁷⁸ Knight, p. 144 and Alan Davidson, *St John's College*, p. 147

²⁷⁹ Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 8 November 1923, p. 572

²⁸⁰ Stockley, p. 46

including Wilford's successor at College House, Stephen Parr, were chaplains.²⁸¹ The impact of this upon Wilford and the residents of the House during the War cannot be measured. Four of those who died had been under Wilford at College House. It is very hard to gauge Wilford's attitude towards the war. He was certainly no pacifist and speaks with some regret that his eyesight prevented him from going to war.²⁸² As an interesting side note Wilford's name was actually drawn in a conscription ballot in July 1918.²⁸³ After the war Wilford saw that those who died had done so as a 'sacrifice'²⁸⁴ and speaks of one student 'joyfully' giving his life at Gallipoli.²⁸⁵ He also compared the courage of the soldiers to that of the Canterbury Pilgrims and spoke of them as heroes.²⁸⁶ Perhaps it can be taken from this that he held a patriotic attitude towards the war and those who died but he never firmly states this. He does speak with some grief over the students who died. He writes of the one who died at Gallipoli that 'The day is burnt into my soul when the handsomest lad I think I have even seen...[was] actually in tears because... [he] was only second on the list of volunteers.'²⁸⁷

Throughout World War I Wilford held onto a vision, which was of the redevelopment of College House as a residential college similar to those at Oxford and Cambridge.²⁸⁸ He wrote in a letter in the *Church News* in 1916: 'When Germany has been well beaten and peace restored we hope to find some among the faithful who will give of their money to... make it possible for us to offer collegiate

²⁸¹ Weston, pp. 46-7

²⁸² Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 116

²⁸³ *The Press*, 25 July 1918, p. 5

²⁸⁴ *The Press*, 10 November 1921, p. 10

²⁸⁵ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 126. The student was either William Mansell or Thomas Currie but more likely Mansell as he was at College House under Wilford. Weston, pp. 43 and 48

²⁸⁶ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 126

²⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 126

²⁸⁸ Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 8 June 1922, p. 475

life to every son of the Church.²⁸⁹ Almost as soon as the war ended Wilford sent a letter to the Board with a proposal for a new brick building as well as suggesting appointing a chaplain.²⁹⁰ The matter was referred to the College House Committee by the Board who reported at the next meeting that the scheme was inadvisable at that stage due to the number of students. They did not see that a chaplain was necessary either as the Principal was supposed to fill this role at College House.²⁹¹ On the surface this appears to have been a wise decision by the Board. The number of eight students in 1918 was the lowest since at least 1902.²⁹² College House had been running at a loss throughout the duration of the war and there was also still debt remaining on the wing that had been opened in 1911.²⁹³ To the Board there was no point in trying to expand College House at that stage, as there was no guarantee that more students would come to the college now the war was ended. Nor was there the money to proceed with any form of building scheme. The Board instead did do some necessary renovations to the existing buildings after Wilford raised concerns about these.²⁹⁴ One of Wilford's reasons for the 1918 building scheme was that he was certain that once the war had ended there would be an increased demand for tertiary education and especially for the collegiate lifestyle of College House.²⁹⁵ There is a certain amount of sense in this as many of the men who went away to war had either not completed or had not started tertiary education. There were five men who were at College House before or during the war who then returned after the war to complete their education.²⁹⁶

²⁸⁹ *Church News*, vol. xlvii, no. 3, March 1 1916, p. 20

²⁹⁰ Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 16 August 1918, p. 257

²⁹¹ *Ibid*, 13 September 1918, p. 262 It should be noted that Christ's College had a Chaplain and the Board may also have decided that they did not need two.

²⁹² Weston, p. 49-52

²⁹³ Knight, p. 144

²⁹⁴ Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 13 September 1918, p. 262

²⁹⁵ Knight, p. 150

²⁹⁶ Weston, pp. 48, 50

Andrew Stockley in his history of College House also refers to the changing world picture that was part of Wilford's life at College House.²⁹⁷ The First World War resulted in dramatic social changes including technological advances. This meant that in order to gain employment it was becoming necessary to gain a tertiary education. It is unlikely that Wilford or the Board realised just how accurate his prophecy of the future of College House was going to be. Numbers dramatically increased throughout the rest of Wilford's life at the College. Before the Great Depression hit in the early 1930s College House had the largest occupancy numbers of its history. In 1930 there were sixty-six students in residence, twelve of which were theological students.²⁹⁸ Numbers did drop slightly over the next fifteen years due to the Depression and World War II but they were never much lower than fifty-five.²⁹⁹ Wilford may have been right about the college's growth but it is easy to see why the Board did not wish to proceed in 1918. If they had started building in 1918 and numbers had not improved then the future of the college could have been in jeopardy if it had got into serious debt.

It is interesting to compare this to the numbers of students at The College of St John the Evangelist in Auckland³⁰⁰, which also increased during this period. It should be noted however that St John's did not just cater for the Auckland region and had students from all over New Zealand in attendance. When St John's reopened after World War I in 1921 there were fourteen students. Numbers peaked at thirty-five in 1926 but averaged around thirty students from then until 1932. Unlike College House, numbers at St John's were quite badly affected by the Depression and World War II as numbers decreased down to fifteen in 1936 and thirteen by

²⁹⁷ Stockley, p. 44

²⁹⁸ College House photos in the College House Library and Weston, p. 64-78

²⁹⁹ Weston, pp. 71-116

³⁰⁰ Referred to from now on as St John's College

1941.³⁰¹ St John's did not have the close ties with the University that College House had and so did not have the numbers of non-theological students that so swelled College House's numbers during this period.

Despite this decision of the Board, Wilford did not give up on his vision of the expansion of College House. In October 1920 Wilford sent a letter to the *Church News* appealing for £3500 for the enlargement of College House as numbers were rapidly increasing.³⁰² During the same year there were two other references to the future of College House. Dean Carrington spoke of one concept in a sermon that he preached at a commemorative service for the landing of the First Four Ships. He spoke of the Pilgrim's plans to build a college and how these ideals had not yet been fulfilled. Carrington said he believed that in order to complete the work of the Pilgrims a Christian university should be established with College House as a base. A leaflet was distributed during this sermon asking for support for College House.³⁰³ Wilford surely had some involvement in this appeal. Carrington would hardly have appealed for support for College House without first consulting Wilford. It is interesting to note that Carrington was at the time a member of the Christ's College Board but elected by Synod rather than by the Old Boy's Association or the Fellows.³⁰⁴ This distinction is important as it shows whose interests Carrington was representing on the Board and why he was more receptive to Wilford's ideas than other members of the Board.

The other reference to the development of College House was an article by a C.A.F. in *The Church News* in January 1920. It is likely that this C.A.F. was

³⁰¹ Allan K. Davidson, *Selwyn's Legacy The College of St John the Evangelist Te Waimate and Auckland 1843-1992*, (Auckland: The College of St John the Evangelist, 1993), p. 170

³⁰² *Church News*, vol. xlv, no. 4, October 1, 1920, p. 6

³⁰³ *The Press*, 20 December 1920, p. 5

³⁰⁴ Don Hamilton, *College! A History of College House* (Christchurch: Christ's College Board of Governors, 1996), p. 294

Wilford's great friend, Rev. C.A. Fraer. This article on College House asked for £3000 to buy a nearby property for accommodation for the students.³⁰⁵ This would not be unrelated to the £3500 Wilford appealed for later in the same year. The article also outlines the writer's vision of College House rebuilt as a residential college like those in England.³⁰⁶ It would continue the ideals of the Canterbury Pilgrims with the new chapel to 'preserve the traditions of a unique venture of the Church of England in the mid-nineteenth century, and... be the daily inspiration of her sons, who would hand on to Church and State... the spirit of the Canterbury Pilgrims.'³⁰⁷ This scheme is much closer to the plan for the college that Wilford put before the Board in 1922 than the one mentioned by Carrington. Wilford may well have discussed his plans for College House with Fraer on various occasions. It should be remembered that Fraer first introduced Wilford to the Canterbury Pilgrims and they were close friends until Fraer's death in 1932. Wilford, before Sunday services were introduced at the college, would preach and often celebrate communion at Sunday services at Phillipstown, Fraer's parish.³⁰⁸ He also wrote that Fraer 'strongly supported me in so much of my work.'³⁰⁹

Wilford's familiarity with the collegiate system from his time at Cambridge must have influenced his plan for the expansion of College House. This plan is best laid out in his report to the Board of Governors in June 1922. His main aim for the project was that College House should become a residential College like those in Oxford or Cambridge. The two main areas where Wilford believed College House needed to expand were in buildings and staff. The need for buildings was becoming

³⁰⁵ *Church News*, vol. xlvx, no 7, January 1920, p. 7

³⁰⁶ *Ibid*

³⁰⁷ *Ibid*

³⁰⁸ *Phillipstown Service Books 1914-1929* Phillipstown Parish Records, PAR 76, Christchurch Diocesan Archives

³⁰⁹ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 177

urgent as by the early 1920s Wilford was writing letters to the paper saying that he had had to turn away applicants because there was no space.³¹⁰ In order to provide College House with adequate space in the future Wilford envisaged that at the completion of his plan there would be room for 120 students.³¹¹ These students would be accommodated in rooms with studies in new buildings placed round a quadrangle. A chapel, lecture rooms and a hall would also be part of the complex.³¹²

The lecture rooms would hold classes for the theological students from the seven new professorships of 'New Testament, Greek, Hebrew, Systematic Theology, Homiletics and Liturgiology, Pastoral Theology and Elocution.'³¹³ The academic side of Wilford's plan was geared towards the theological students, as Canterbury College was able to cater for all other courses. College House on the other hand was the centre for training clergy in the Christchurch Diocese. It is interesting to note that Wilford advocated the establishment of a national theological training college in New Zealand rather than the regional training that was available at that time.³¹⁴ He believed that theological students should have contact with students from other disciplines by spending three years at university before spending three years at a national college where students could learn more about their own faith as well as skills for ministry.³¹⁵ Probably in his plans for College House Wilford could see the potential of it becoming this national centre. Its connection with the University could also aid these theological students in gaining contact with others. In the end a national centre for theological training in New Zealand did eventuate but it was based

³¹⁰ *The Press*, 6 March 1922, p. 7 and 4 March 1921, p. 9. These would be applicants for the boarding hostel as theological students were accepted for training by the Diocese and therefore Wilford would have to accept them in to College House.

³¹¹ *The Press*, 4 March 1921, p. 9

³¹² Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 8 June 1922, p. 476

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 149

³¹⁵ Ibid.

at St John's College in Auckland rather than College House. If Wilford's plans had been completed then perhaps St John's would have had some competition for this status.

There was one necessary factor for the completion of this plan and that, as always, was money. Wilford put a figure of about £100 000 on his plan. It is hard to guess whether this figure was feasible for the plan as it is not known how Wilford calculated this amount. However for the time it was a very large sum of money, especially if it is kept in mind that Wilford's annual salary was £450.³¹⁶ There was certainly no expectation that this money would be raised immediately. Wilford instead suggested that people make bequests towards the scheme. Perhaps he was hoping that some of the new professorships would attract endowments similar to the existing Watts-Russell and Hulsean-Chichele professorships. Money was also required to help fund the scholarships and exhibitions that Wilford thought the rebuilt college should offer.³¹⁷

In order to help with the accommodation problem at College House it was resolved to try to collect £15 000 as soon as possible for an extension of the college. This aim was not part of Wilford's plan to the Board. It would however have been strongly supported by him especially if one looks at the number of times he mentions accommodation problems in his letters to *The Press*. Instead this urgent appeal was part of the statement issued by the Board of Governors in 1923 stating their intention to develop the college. Wilford himself also made an appeal for immediate funds for College House. In a letter to *The Press* in March 1923 he asked New Zealanders to send £20 000 of the £100 000 required within the next seven days.³¹⁸ There is no record to suggest that he ever received this money. It is almost certain that he did not,

³¹⁶ Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 31 May 1921, p. 422

³¹⁷ Ibid, 8 June 1922, p. 477

³¹⁸ *The Press*, 6 March 1922, p. 7

firstly because of the Board's appeal the next year for £15 000. Secondly, if he had got the money, he would have immediately started work on a new building, which did not happen. The £100 000 was never raised as the fundraising campaign came to a halt in mid-1923 due to problems between Wilford and some members of the Christ's College Board.

Throughout the fundraising scheme for College House there were references to the 'Pilgrims' of the Canterbury Association. As has already been established the concept of the 'Pilgrims' was important to Wilford and others such as Carrington and Fraer, and had an impact on much of his activity in New Zealand. Fraer's *Church News* article of January 1920 referred to the 'spirit of the "Canterbury Pilgrims"' ³¹⁹ while Carrington chose to speak about extending College House at a commemorative service for the landing of the First Four Ships. ³²⁰ In an article in the *N.Z. Churchman* in 1922 the history of College House was laid out in reference to the fundraising campaign. ³²¹ Completing the work of the Canterbury Pilgrims became in essence the slogan of the fundraising campaign. Wilford and others used it almost any time an appeal was made for funds for the college. In his letters to *The Press* on the subject Wilford used phrases such as the 'vision of the old pilgrims' ³²² or the 'ideals of the pilgrims.' ³²³

Wilford had a profound interest in the Pilgrims and felt called by them to complete their work. He writes: 'A power within my seemed to possess me; and I believed it to be – no, I was sure it was – the spirit of the Canterbury Pilgrims: I was a mere automaton.' ³²⁴ In attempting to redevelop College House Wilford felt that he

³¹⁹ *Church News*, January 1920, p. 7

³²⁰ *The Press*, 20 December 1920, p. 5

³²¹ *The N.Z. Churchman*, vol. 3, October 1 1922, p. 106

³²² *The Press*, 27 December 1921, p. 8

³²³ *Ibid*, 1 May 1923, p. 8

³²⁴ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 113

was helping the Pilgrims to complete their purpose which was ‘the establishment of a Christian Commonwealth. The scheme was perhaps like an enormous jigsaw puzzle.’³²⁵ Wilford felt that the extension of College House was a piece of this puzzle along with the church hospital which he founded, the cathedral and church schools like St Matthew’s Victory School which he also fundraised for. Wilford believed that College House as a Christian university college would help complete this Christian Commonwealth by providing not only a training ground for theological students but also a place where tertiary students could get religious instruction, discipline and lifestyle. Wilford saw that in this way College House could be part of ‘the salvation of New Zealand’³²⁶ by providing a structured religious lifestyle for the future leaders of the colony. College House could provide this by compulsory church attendance alongside a structured Christian lifestyle that he hoped the students would continue throughout their life. At College House therefore there were the resources to answer their questions as well as providing religious instruction at a more advanced level.

Completing the work of the Pilgrims certainly appears to have been a good line to take to gain support for the scheme. It was the right time in Christchurch’s history to develop a scheme based on this. New Zealand in the 1920s was a time of looking back towards Great Britain as ‘home.’³²⁷ That is to say that most Pakeha New Zealanders regarded themselves as British subjects and traced their cultural heritage from Britain in what James Belich refers to as ‘recolonisation’.³²⁸ Christchurch, at this point in time, was developing its own identity as an English city.³²⁹ As part of this, the English history of Christchurch was emphasised with the idea of the Pilgrims

³²⁵ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 17

³²⁶ Ibid.

³²⁷ St George’s Executive Minutes, 3 February 1926, St George’s Hospital Trust, St George’s Hospital, Christchurch

³²⁸ Belich, p. 29

³²⁹ Cookson, p. 31

playing a central role. Throughout the 1920s various events in Christchurch occurred to raise interest in the Pilgrims including a Commemorative service held in 1920 to celebrate seventy years since the landing of the First Four Ships³³⁰ while the Canterbury Pilgrims' Association was formed in 1923 'to perpetuate a feeling of veneration for the early pioneers'.³³¹ A good example of this 'veneration' of the Pilgrims can be found in *The Press* of 9 April 1923 where a letter was published objecting to Canterbury College students doing a comic skit on the arrival of the Pilgrims.³³²

The 1920s can therefore be seen as a good time for Wilford to launch two Pilgrim-based campaigns; College House and St George's. The number of letters of support that appeared in *The Press* soon after the Board released their statement are a testament to this. Some, such as 'Randolph',³³³ were especially in favour of completing the work of the Pilgrims. Another suggested that a History of Christ's College and College House should be written and applauded the concept of completing the work of the Pilgrims³³⁴ while one writer believed that there was 'no worthier cause than the appeal of the Board'.³³⁵ However Wilford's perception of the aims of the Pilgrims was not always well received. Wilford would probably have been a little hurt if he had seen a reference to his use of the Pilgrims in the campaign in a letter from Christ's College Board members, H. Cotterill. Cotterill wrote to George Harper, a fellow board member, when returning a letter of Wilford's, that Wilford showed an amazing ignorance of Christ's College History.³³⁶

³³⁰ *The Press*, 20 December 1920, p. 5

³³¹ Cookson, p. 33

³³² *The Press*, 9 April 1923, p. 8

³³³ *Ibid*, 14 April 1923, p. 18 Randolph was the name of one of the first four ships

³³⁴ *Ibid*, 17 April 1923, p. 10

³³⁵ *Ibid*, 19 April 1923, p. 12

³³⁶ Cotterill [Henry] to Harper [George] (3 May 1923), 1p, TS, Christ's College Archives, CCUD/1/63

Although the concept of rebuilding College House to complete the plans of the Pilgrims was used to promote the scheme there were some fundamental differences between the Canterbury Association and Wilford's plans for the college. Wilford was looking to establish College House primarily as a theological college while the Pilgrims planned a multidisciplinary institution. The Canterbury Association's scheme for a college proposed that there be two departments for the College. One department was for boys from seven to seventeen years of age and was to run along the same lines as the English grammar schools.³³⁷ This became Christ's College. The Collegiate or Upper Department, was for men above the age of seventeen and this became College House. It was proposed that there should be four divisions in the Upper Department; Theological, Classical, Mathematical and Civil Engineering and Agriculture.³³⁸ A revised plan of the college in 1851 also instructed that a medical school connected to the church hospital should be included.³³⁹ The Classical Division was to include all students while the theological section was only for candidates for ordination. It was also hoped that students would spend some time in the agricultural division, as farming skills were important in the new colony. The main idea behind the Upper Department was to supply the colony with engineers, farmers, doctors and clergymen. Students of the Upper Department were to wear caps and gowns and were to attend chapel services twice a day. There were also to be day scholars as well as boarders at the college.³⁴⁰

The main difference that can be seen between the two plans for the College was that Wilford concentrated almost solely upon theological training. This was

³³⁷ *Canterbury Papers*, op. cit., p. 101

³³⁸ *Ibid.*

³³⁹ 'Plan of College, founded by the Canterbury Association in the Canterbury Settlement, in New Zealand' in *Canterbury Papers*, op. cit., p 286

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p 286

³⁴⁰ 'Scheme for the Establishment of a College', in *Canterbury Papers*, p. 102

because of the presence of Canterbury College in Christchurch. Canterbury College covered almost all of the fields that had been suggested by the Canterbury Association. Wilford, although desirous of completing the work of the Canterbury Pilgrims, could see that the presence of Canterbury College meant that the founders' concept of a Christian university was no longer feasible.³⁴¹ He therefore concentrated his energy into the sections of the founders' plans that were not offered by Canterbury College. One of these was the theological section of the College. Wilford's plan involved expanding the academic side of the College House theological programme. He wanted to offer students a wider range of subjects with the staff to support this. During Wilford's life at College House he had sole responsibility for training theological students - although it should be noted that the theological students were never particularly numerous especially when compared to St John's which averaged around thirty theological students per year between 1925 and 1932.³⁴² The highest number of candidates for ordination was approximately thirteen in 1931 out of sixty-four students in residence at College House that year. The numbers averaged between seven and eight from 1919 to 1932. Wilford may have hoped to either make more men in Christchurch consider ordained ministry or attract theological students from other dioceses by offering a more comprehensive theological programme at College House. He may also have felt that a more formal and wide-ranging system of training ordination candidates was more in line with the ideals of the 'Pilgrims' in founding College House.

Wilford's relationship with the Christ's College Board of Governors was uneasy for most of his time at College House. This in part contributed to the sudden end of the attempts to fundraise for Wilford's plan in 1923. Knight's M.A. thesis is

³⁴¹ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 113

³⁴² Davidson, a p. 170

important in understanding the relationship between Wilford and the Board. M.E. Knight was a student at College House under Wilford in 1932 when the thesis was written. Wilford had always wanted a history of College House to be written and had hoped to do so himself but never had the time.³⁴³ Instead he decided to entrust the job to Knight.³⁴⁴ The thesis was completed in 1932 and there was some hope that it would be made into a book but this never happened. Wilford had in fact loaned all of his papers to Knight to help him with the book but unfortunately never saw them again.³⁴⁵ Wilford would have provided Knight with useful information about his own life at the College in these personal papers, especially his annual reports to the Board, which have since disappeared. Knight quoted some passages from these papers, which are pertinent when examining what Wilford said to the Board in relation to his plan for the College.³⁴⁶ Using these in conjunction with the Board minutes enables an examination of how the Board reacted to Wilford's reports and how much support they offered him in his endeavours for the college. The thesis does appear to have been rather heavily influenced by Wilford especially when looking at the relationship between Wilford and the Board. Knight writes about the 'complete neglect of the House by the Board of Governors.'³⁴⁷ Knight would have consulted Wilford heavily when writing about his tenure at College House as he was Principal at the time and therefore an excellent and easy source to consult when writing the recent history of College House.

Wilford believed that the Board was entirely indifferent to College House as they rarely visited it. When three Board members came to see Wilford in 1922 about his plan for the college, he mentions that it was the first visit that any lay member of

³⁴³ Ibid, p. 120

³⁴⁴ Ibid, p. 120

³⁴⁵ Ibid, p. 121

³⁴⁶ Knight, p. 152

³⁴⁷ Knight, p. 145

the Board had paid him at the college.³⁴⁸ Knight records that one member of the Board went to College House to meet with Wilford. He never arrived however and, when apologising to Wilford, mentioned he had spent an hour wandering around the quadrangle at Christ's where the college had moved from thirty-two years earlier!³⁴⁹ Wilford also suspected that some of his early reports to the Board were never read.³⁵⁰

Wilford's belief in the indifference of the Christ's College Board appears to have stemmed from the situation of the college during World War I. As mentioned, the college was very close to being closed during the war because of lack of students and therefore lack of funds. Wilford felt that the Board did not do enough to try and save the College during this period. He therefore saw himself as alone in his efforts to keep the College going. He writes: 'So dark were the prospects that there was even talk of shutting the College down; but however indifferent the Governing Body may then have been to their Upper Department, I don't think the Diocese would ever have allowed [this].'³⁵¹ The only recorded action of the Board in respect to the war problems at College House was in 1916 when the £5 per student House fee, which usually went to the Board, was paid to Wilford to make up for the 'serious loss of revenue.'³⁵² Wilford obviously did not feel that this was enough. When speaking to the three Board members who came to discuss his plan in 1922 he told the story of a little boy called Tommy who was left to play in the garden all day by his parents but then in evening was told not to.³⁵³ He said to the men that he was Tommy and that 'Once, a very long time ago, they had sent him [Tommy/Wilford] five pounds as

³⁴⁸ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 167

³⁴⁹ Knight, p. 145

³⁵⁰ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 146

³⁵¹ Ibid, p. 116

³⁵² Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 10 March 1926, p. 151

³⁵³ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 166

pocket money, and hoped that it might keep him quiet.³⁵⁴ Wilford's belief in the indifference of the Board also possibly shaped his motivation to keep the college open during the war. Knight writes that 'the indifference of the Board of Governors, their lack of vision and their financial timidity must have made it extremely problematic if it [the college] would even have been re-opened, at any rate in the same form.'³⁵⁵ It is possible that Wilford shared Knight's point of view that the College would not be reopened if the Board did decide to close it during the war. He may also have thought that if the Board had reopened College House after the war it would only be as a boarding hostel. Wilford would therefore have tried his hardest to ensure that the College remained open due to his interest in the Canterbury Pilgrims. His plan for the future of the college also meant that he would not have wanted the nature of it changed, as it would have made it more difficult to complete or even start its transformation into an Oxbridge college. Wilford's relationship with the Board during World War I therefore made them seem to him indifferent towards the college throughout the rest of his life. It is impossible that all of the Board were indifferent to College House when the Board contained Carrington who was a past Principal and who had also preached in favour of the expansion of College House.

Wilford's relationship with the Board was not always difficult. He wrote that they were 'a body of men second to none in wisdom and old fashioned courtesy... they did not interfere with my decisions about the College itself'.³⁵⁶ When Wilford took over the college they were certainly accommodating on various points. Wilford objected to the clause in his contract about him having to care for the upkeep and renewal of furniture in the students' part of the college. The Board does not appear to have had too much difficulty in omitting this clause so that the College itself was to

³⁵⁴ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 166

³⁵⁵ Knight, p. 144

³⁵⁶ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 146

look after the college furniture while Wilford only had to look after that in his own accommodation.³⁵⁷ They also never questioned his decisions to expel pupils or to take away scholarships from those Wilford felt did not deserve them.³⁵⁸ The best example though of the Board's support of Wilford was in his difficulties with William Alfred Orange who was at one stage vicar of Waikari and later a cathedral Canon.³⁵⁹ Wilford and Orange had very different doctrinal beliefs. Wilford described Orange as being a 'Fundamentalist' that is to say a Low Church man.³⁶⁰ Wilford, as already discussed, was moderately Anglo-Catholic. It is evident that he and Orange had a difficult relationship. They had very strong personalities that rather violently clashed.³⁶¹ It is however interesting to note that Orange was Head of College House in 1918-19.³⁶² Wilford himself chose the Head from a list of three students given to him by all other students³⁶³ so Wilford must have believed that Orange had the necessary qualities to make a leader. This appears to have been a wise decision as one student recalled that Orange did a good job.³⁶⁴ Another student, however, reported that Orange 'tried to undermine the influence of the B.M.³⁶⁵ on some of the younger men'.³⁶⁶ Wilford and Orange's difficult relationship appears to have come to a head after Orange left the college. Wilford reports that an old student - from the description provided of this student it was almost certainly Orange - was trying to influence students against Wilford. A father of one student asked Wilford that Orange be kept away from his son. Wilford was forced to act upon this when, visiting this student's study one evening, he discovered Orange leaving rather hastily through the

³⁵⁷ Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 12 September 1913, p. 76

³⁵⁸ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, pp. 145-6

³⁵⁹ Weston, p. 50

³⁶⁰ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 146

³⁶¹ Rathgen, interview with Schroder, pp. 143-4

³⁶² Weston, p. 50

³⁶³ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 132

³⁶⁴ Rathgen quoting Ault, p. 145

³⁶⁵ Stands for Boss Man – the College House name for the Principal

³⁶⁶ Rathgen interview with J.H.E. Schroder, p. 145

window.³⁶⁷ Wilford barred Orange from College House at which point Orange wrote a letter of indictment against Wilford and sent it to the Board.³⁶⁸ The Board did pass this letter on to the College House Committee to be examined. However, it was resolved that no further action should be taken.³⁶⁹ Wilford would certainly have been glad that he had the full support of this Board in this matter because if they had decided to act upon Orange's letter it could have made Wilford's life at College House untenable.

But Wilford did not choose to enlist the support of the Board when beginning his campaign to raise funds for College House in early 1920s. He made no attempt to approach them with his plan for the College until the matter was brought to the attention of the Board in April 1922 when Henry Cotterill, a Board member, wrote a letter to the Board about Wilford's public appeal asking whether it was 'fitting for an employee of the Board to make such an appeal without authority'?"³⁷⁰ The Board decided to form a sub-committee to consider the letter and asked Wilford to suspend any further action until they had considered the matter.³⁷¹ Wilford's unwillingness to approach the Board on the matter had a great deal to do with his perception of their attitude towards College House. He was worried that they would reject his plan outright because he felt they did not share his vision of the future of the College.

In response to the Board's enquiry, he said to them that he had requested funds on three separate occasions to add to the present house and purchase adjoining property and on each occasion the response was 'no funds'.³⁷² There was some truth to this. The Board had rejected Wilford's proposal to build in 1918 because of

³⁶⁷ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, pp. 146-147

³⁶⁸ Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 19 August 1920, p. 375

³⁶⁹ Ibid, 9 September 1920, p. 384

³⁷⁰ Ibid, 6 April 1922, p. 465

³⁷¹ Ibid, 6 April 1922, p. 465

³⁷² Ibid, 11 May 1922, p. 470

student numbers and money. In 1920 one of the neighbouring properties was for sale and the matter was referred to the Board who handed it over to the Finance Committee who must have told Wilford there was not enough money.³⁷³ It is interesting to note that Wilford may have already have had the necessary money in hand to buy this property - 'even if I allowed friends who trusted me to buy the property the Board might rightly think I was trying to force their hand.'³⁷⁴ If this was the case why did the Board respond that there was no money, unless Wilford had not told them about the potential funds? There was certainly a great need for increased accommodation by 1922. The Board does not appear to have addressed this issue at any of their meetings and Wilford's requests for more buildings appear to have fallen on deaf ears. In 1921 Wilford preached to the cathedral congregation³⁷⁵ about the need for extra accommodation at College House and they contributed most of the money required to build a sleeping shelter that became known as the 'Little Hencoop'. The Board contributed £75 towards this after Wilford had initiated the project.³⁷⁶ Stockley mentions that Wilford was 'certainly not shy' in looking for funds without the approval of the Board. In 1921 the Board paid only £13 to install electric light throughout the college as Wilford had already collected £65 towards this.³⁷⁷ There is however a good reason behind the Board's reluctance to fund any of Wilford's schemes for expansion prior to 1922. Christ's College was beginning to get into financial trouble due to a drop in the number of day students. In 1920 there were 210 day boys but by 1924 there were only 140.³⁷⁸ This was mainly caused by an

³⁷³ Ibid, 13 August 1920, p. 382

³⁷⁴ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 165

³⁷⁵ Wilford was also Preacher-in-Ordinary at the Cathedral where he preached at the Sunday night evening service. He often used these sermons to raise money for causes such as College House, St Georges or the Victory Memorial School. Ibid, pp. 174-183

³⁷⁶ Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 31 May 1921, p. 406

³⁷⁷ Stockley, p. 47

³⁷⁸ Hamilton, p. 365

economic down turn, which Board member H. Cotterill referred to as ‘a financial crisis without parallel in our history’.³⁷⁹

By 1922 Wilford had decided that he was not going to get money from the Board to help rebuild College House. His defence when questioned about the 1922 appeal was that he wanted to say to the Board ‘Here is the money – may I start work on a scheme to make College House into a real living Hostel’.³⁸⁰ He seemed think that the Board could not say no by that stage of the scheme especially as the necessary money was already provided so they could not say ‘no funds’. Wilford’s plan for expansion of College House was too important to him to have it rejected by the Board because he felt this urge to complete the work of the Pilgrims: ‘I was driven on in spite of myself. Something which was not just tenacity of purpose urged me relentlessly forward’.³⁸¹ He also felt that a higher authority than the Board, that is to say God, gave his work to him and that, he could not ignore that calling.³⁸²

As part of the Board’s examination of Wilford’s appeal Wilford sent in a detailed outline of his plan. The Board on examination of the plan announced themselves to be in ‘entire sympathy with ideals, aims and efforts of the Principal of College House to extend the college and required the College House Committee to confer with Wilford in every way possible regarding the scheme.’³⁸³ The College House Committee presented a report the next month complimenting Wilford’s report. This warm reception of the plan raises the possibility that Wilford had nothing to fear if he had presented his plan to the Board at an earlier date. If he had done so it may have prevented the later breakdown in relations that occurred between the two parties, as there would have been less mistrust between them. It is interesting to note however

³⁷⁹ Hamilton, p. 365

³⁸⁰ Minutes of the Christ’s College Board of Governors, 11 May 1922, p. 470

³⁸¹ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 113

³⁸² Ibid, p. 166

³⁸³ Minutes of the Christ’s College Board of Governors, 8 June 1922, p. 478

that Mr G. Tapper asked it be recorded that he voted against the report while eight other members of the Board also voted against it.³⁸⁴ This was a sign of the growing tensions between Wilford and the Board that would result in the end of this campaign in 1923. Until May 1923 however the Board continued to support Wilford and his plan. On April 13 1923 the Board released a statement to *The Press* outlining the scheme for extension of College House. The scheme released there was in all details the same as the one Wilford presented to the Board the previous year except for mentioning the immediate need for £15 000 for more accommodation.³⁸⁵ Wilford also recommended that the full plans and the sum of £100 000 required for the extension be made known to the public immediately so people knew what they were donating money towards. It was hoped that this would attract donations.³⁸⁶ He also pointed out to them that ‘If we were to ask for little we should get little; but if we were to launch the whole big scheme, and let it be known that at present we were aiming at the completion of only one small part of it’.³⁸⁷ Here is a good example of Wilford’s knowledge of the practicalities of fundraising that allowed him to succeed so well when the time came to raise money for St George’s.

The 1923 fundraising campaign for College House was not a success. One problem was the lack of trust on both sides. Some members of the Board were not as keen on the expansion of College House as Wilford. One of these men was Henry Cotterill, partner in a prominent Christchurch law firm, who had first drawn the attention of the Board to Wilford’s campaign for College House. Henry Cotterill had been on the Board for twenty-seven years³⁸⁸ and appears to have been more interested in Christ’s College than College House. He was probably one of those who Wilford

³⁸⁴ Minutes of the Christ’s College Board of Governors 13 July 1922, p. 486

³⁸⁵ *The Press*, 13 April 1923, p. 8

³⁸⁶ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 167

³⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 168

³⁸⁸ Hamilton, p. 191

wrote as having ‘the Grammar School only at heart’ who ‘feared that public attention might be diverted from it’.³⁸⁹ He was not happy about Wilford’s attempts to get money for the college and wrote in a letter to Tapper in March 1922 that Wilford would ‘grab at any penny he can get’ and that Christ’s should not be a ‘milch cow of College House’.³⁹⁰ It is important to realise however that Cotterill was acting outside the Board in writing these letters and that his attitudes do not reflect those of the entire Board. He appeared to have disliked Wilford’s attitude as Principal of College House and wrote that in promoting his ‘grandiose scheme’ for College House he was not acting as a ‘servant of the College’ and should ‘receive a rap over the knuckles and be told in polite language that the Board are not going to put up with such proceedings’.³⁹¹

Anonymous letters in *The Press* were one cause of this breakdown in relations between Wilford and the Board as some were perhaps wrongly attributed to Wilford. In one such letter it was suggested that Christ’s College be moved to the country as the present grounds were getting too small and that College House be moved into the Christ’s College buildings.³⁹² Although there is a certain amount of sense to this suggestion it would not have appealed to those, like Cotterill, who were interested in maintaining the traditions of Christ’s College. Wilford would not have helped matters by replying to this letter, saying he had wondered about this suggestion himself.³⁹³ Cotterill, in fact, refers to this letter when writing to Tapper as an example of why he found Wilford’s ‘proceedings’ annoying.³⁹⁴

³⁸⁹ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 168

³⁹⁰ H [enry] Cotterill to G.A.U. Tapper (16 March 1922) 6pp. TS, Christ’s College Archives, CCUD/1/57

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² *The Press*, 28 December 1921, p. 7

³⁹³ Ibid, 29 December 1921, p. 7

³⁹⁴ Cotterill to Tapper, CCUD/1/57

Another cause of dissension between Wilford and the Board was the establishment of Cathedral Grammar School for the training of the Cathedral choristers. In 1895 the original Cathedral school was incorporated into the Lower School of Christ's College to accommodate the Choristers. Unfortunately the choristers were never truly accepted by the other boys because once they reached the secondary school their commitment to the choir meant that they missed sports practices. They also often missed classes for core subjects, which the school disliked.³⁹⁵ By 1922 both the Cathedral Chapter, who were in charge of the choir boys, and Christ's College were no longer happy with the situation and so it was resolved that a new school should be created for the choristers. Wilford, as a member of the Cathedral Chapter, was involved in reopening Cathedral Grammar, although he was worried about a conflict of interest because he was a 'servant of the College'.³⁹⁶ The main issue appears from this not to have been so much the Cathedral setting up a school of their own but Wilford's level of involvement in it. There are no records surviving that show exactly what Wilford said or did in relation to Cathedral Grammar but Crosse, Principal of Christ's College, wrote that Wilford had 'misrepresented the ideals of the College since Cathedral Grammar was started'.³⁹⁷ Cotterill wrote to Bishop Julius in March 1923 that the position regarding Wilford and his involvement with Cathedral Grammar was now acute and must be faced with no further delay'.³⁹⁸ Another anonymous letter was published, and attributed to Wilford, which said that it hoped that the Board would allow the Chapter to take over the

³⁹⁵ Robyn Gosset, *Ex Cathdra A History of the Cathedral School of Christchurch, New Zealand 1881-1981*, (Christchurch: Cathedral Grammar School Trust Board, 1981), p. 15

³⁹⁶ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 207

³⁹⁷ E.C. Crosse to H[enry] Cotterill (30 April 192?) 2pp. TS Christ's College Archives CCUD/1/66

³⁹⁸ H[enry] Cotterill to Bishop [Churchill] Julius (7 March 1923), 3pp. TS Christ's College Archives CCUD/1/58

management of the whole Lower School, non-choir boys included.³⁹⁹ Wilford does claim that he did not write that particular letter.⁴⁰⁰ It is possible that Wilford's level of involvement in the Cathedral Grammar project had caused, in the eyes of the Board, a conflict of interest with his role as Principal. Wilford's character meant that he never entered into a project half-heartedly. His enthusiasm for Cathedral Grammar perhaps meant that he said or wrote something like the comments in the anonymous letter to *The Press* that offended the Board. Cathedral Grammar re-opened at the start of 1923 and is today a thriving preparatory school.

In his letter to Cotterill, Tripp listed prestige as another cause of dissension between Christ's and College House. This certainly fits in with Wilford's comment that some members of the Board such as Cotterill were more interested in Christ's and therefore tried to put that institution before College House. Tripp even believed that the Board should get rid of College House and pass it on to the Church Property Trustees.⁴⁰¹ This was because he felt that specialised theological education was not in the Board's sphere.⁴⁰² This dispute about prestige manifested itself in a debate about the name of College House. Some people were concerned that College House's name in formal form: that is, the Collegiate Department or Upper Department of Christ's College could easily be confused with the school, Christ's College.⁴⁰³ Crosse was annoyed at an article in the paper, also attributed to Wilford, which was titled, *Progress at Christ's College*, meaning College House. It seems to have been felt that any confusion between Christ's College and College House would have a negative impact upon Christ's although the reason to why this would be the case is difficult to

³⁹⁹ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 208

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid

⁴⁰¹ C[harles] H[oward] Tripp to H[enry] Cotterill (10 July 1923) 2pp. TS, Christ's College Archives CCUD/1/65

⁴⁰² Ibid.

⁴⁰³ Ibid.

fathom. There may have been an attempt to distance Christ's from Wilford's expansion plans. Wilford suggests that there was some concern about attention being drawn from Christ's College.⁴⁰⁴ This probably would have been on the minds of some of the Board at a time when numbers were low. They may well have disliked of anything that took away interest from the school, which could result in numbers dropping further.

The campaign to rebuild College House appears to have abruptly stopped in May 1923 when after a report about the expansion there is a note that two Board members Dobson and Tapper were to visit Wilford and draw attention to him signing himself as Principal of the Collegiate Department of Christ's College in a letter to *The Press* that day.⁴⁰⁵ It is unclear as to why they were drawing attention to this matter, as this was one official name given to College House. It is also unknown as to why the issue was raised at this point in time as this appears to have been the title that Wilford usually used in letters to the paper. For the next few months, relations between Wilford and the Board would have been rather tense as there were attempts made to change the name of College House. The main concern was that the association with Christ's College in the name be dropped. At the May 1923 Board meeting it was resolved 'that the use of the term "Upper Department" or "Collegiate Department" be discontinued and the Department in future be styled "College House" without the addition of the words "Christ's College".⁴⁰⁶ Wilford strongly opposed this name change because of his interest in the Pilgrims. In the Canterbury Association plans for the college it was recorded that there should be two departments, the public school

⁴⁰⁴ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 168

⁴⁰⁵ Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 16 May 1923, p. 544

⁴⁰⁶ Anon. 'Notice of Special Meeting 21 June 1923' (16 June 1923) Christ's College Archives, CCUD/1/30c

department and the collegiate department.⁴⁰⁷ In removing Christ's College from the name of the collegiate department Wilford believed that it looked like the two departments were separating entirely.⁴⁰⁸ Wilford saw this as a step away from the ambitions of the Pilgrims who he believed wanted to provide education from 'grammar school to university level'.⁴⁰⁹ There were those who wanted to go even further with the college's change of name and make it 'Harper College'.⁴¹⁰ Tripp appears to have been part of this group as he wrote to Cotterill that he did not think College House was an appropriate name, as he did not see it as a college where 'real teaching' was done but more of an English university hostel.⁴¹¹ Wilford disliked this name even more as it was a complete break with the past.⁴¹² He believed that any change of name would make it very difficult to raise support for the redevelopment of the college. He saw that for the public 'a new name, to them, signifies a new thing'.⁴¹³ Changing the name meant breaking with the traditions and history of the college. Wilford saw that his project would lose a great deal of its appeal if it did not have the history to back it up. This idea is further enforced by the public outcry which Wilford recorded occurred over the Board's decision to change the name of the college.⁴¹⁴ The Board did rescind the resolution they made at the May 1923 meeting and held a special meeting in June 1923.⁴¹⁵ The Board finally decided in July 1923 that College House should continue to be the Collegiate Department of Christ's College.⁴¹⁶

⁴⁰⁷ 'Scheme for the Establishment of a College', *Canterbury Papers, 1850-52* op. cit.

⁴⁰⁸ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 168

⁴⁰⁹ Knight, p. 156

⁴¹⁰ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 169

⁴¹¹ Tripp to Cotterill, CCUD/1/65

⁴¹² Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 169

⁴¹³ Knight, p. 157

⁴¹⁴ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 168

⁴¹⁵ 'Notice of Special Meeting 21 June 1923', CCUD/1/30c

⁴¹⁶ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 169

The debate over the name of College House had the effect of completely killing the 1923 campaign to rebuild College House. There is no further mention of any major extension of the College until 1927. It does seem that Wilford saw the death of the 1923 campaign as only a setback to his plan. In 1925 he paid a visit to England where he appears to have spent some time looking at colleges. It is recorded in the Board minutes that Wilford visited Cambridge and Oxford, which he said convinced him the college was carrying out the work of the founders.⁴¹⁷ In 1928 the Board approved Wilford's plan to appeal for increased accommodation.⁴¹⁸ By August leaflets were distributed outlining the plans for the new building as well as again using the concept of the Pilgrims for support.⁴¹⁹ It was estimated that the new building would cost around £8512 10 0 and that it would be prudent to start building immediately as this would make fundraising easier.⁴²⁰ But there was no mention in either the Board Minutes or the advertising flyer of Wilford's original plan of expansion.⁴²¹ This fundraising campaign was only for this new building although there are some hints that this might be the start of the bigger project, 'the building of a new wing at College House is still another step in the scheme which has as its object the carrying out of the express purpose of the founders of the Community.'⁴²² The money for this new building does appear to have been rather slow in coming in. In December 1928 the building fund was only at £2315:8:0, although the Board decided that building should begin immediately.⁴²³ By May 1929 there was £3200 in the fund.⁴²⁴ Wilford records that the last £500 was received from 'an old friend of

⁴¹⁷ Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 11 March 1926, p. 62

⁴¹⁸ Ibid, 14 June 1928, p. 137

⁴¹⁹ Ibid, 9 August 1928

⁴²⁰ Ibid, 13 September 1928

⁴²¹ Anon. 'College House Extension 1928' pamphlet published in 1928, Christ's College Archives, CCUD/1/54

⁴²² Ibid.

⁴²³ Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors 13 December 1928, p. 153

⁴²⁴ Ibid. 9 May 1929, p. 167

College House' living in England who donated that sum after being personally appealed to by Wilford.⁴²⁵ It is a testament to Wilford's fundraising ability that this person had only contributed £5 before Wilford contacted him. The building, called the Watts-Russell wing was opened on 28 February 1930 by Archbishop Julius.⁴²⁶ Wilford's plan for the redevelopment of the College was never completed. Wilford himself returned to England in 1932 and with him went the drive behind the campaign. He wrote in *Southern Cross and Evening Star* of the College Quadrangle 'for the completion of which the Canterbury Pilgrims, I and many another shall be waiting in Paradise'.⁴²⁷

Although Wilford's scheme to rebuild College House never came to fruition he can still be seen as a significant figure in the history of College House. His determination to keep the college open during World War I ensured its survival. He also was able to build up College House so that it was in a very strong position in terms of numbers, reputation and finance when he left in 1932. He and Dorothy's housekeeping methods saved the college from bankruptcy and allowed them to hand over a financially healthy college to the Board when they took over that side of its management. His purpose in trying to rebuild College House and to provide more accommodation for students allowed it to grow in strength and numbers, as there was now more space for students. His promotion of the college in his attempts to fund his plan allowed its reputation to grow as more people found out more not only about College House but also about the Pilgrims and their aims for education.

⁴²⁵ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 171

⁴²⁶ Minutes of the Christ's College Board of Governors, 13 February 1930, p. 195

⁴²⁷ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, Foreword

Chapter Four

‘Forces that I could not resist led me on’ - The founding of St George’s Hospital

Canon Wilford was a man with a vision. He believed he had been called by God to complete the work of the Canterbury Pilgrims by building a Church of England Hospital. His vision of this hospital involved linking religion and healthcare into one facility to create a technologically advanced hospital that cared for the whole person. It would care for the spirituality of the patients with regular religious services and a nursing sisterhood that would care for patients with both medicine and prayer. The hospital would also carry out the practical side of Christianity through charitable works providing healthcare to those who could not otherwise afford it. Wilford’s vision enabled him to lead a band of supporters to fundraise and build what is today known as St George’s Hospital.

In order to examine Wilford’s role in the establishment of St George’s Hospital it is necessary to go back to the founding of the Canterbury colony. Wilford was inspired to build the hospital from the uncompleted plan of the Canterbury Association for the settlement. The first mention of a hospital is found in a letter from the Association to J.R. Godley dated 1 October 1850.

A provision... for a hospital. With respect to the last of the above-mentioned objects... the Committee have been anxious to establish at the outset a principle which they conceive to be indispensable to the perfect efficiency and complete organization of the church. Works of mercy and charity are acts of religion, and a church system would appear to be defective which did not

afford scope and opportunity within her own domain for the exercise of these duties.⁴²⁸

This passage is of great importance in the history of St George's as Wilford was inspired by this to envisage a Church of England hospital with charitable aims. The other mention of the hospital can be found in the 1851 plan for the college where it is mentioned that the college should be connected to the hospital through a medical school.⁴²⁹ The hospital was never built by the Pilgrims however due to the financial constraints of the Canterbury Association as well as difficulties in establishing the new colony once the settlers had arrived.⁴³⁰

Wilford's vision of completing the Pilgrim's hospital began in Waikari during his long discussions with Rev. C.A. Fraer about the Pilgrims and their vision for the new colony.⁴³¹ Wilford held on to his dream of a Church of England hospital for many years until the scheme was launched in 1922. He seems to have talked about this plan with many of his friends in Christchurch, raising support for the scheme before it was started. According to one President of the St George's Association he 'discussed his long cherished dream, of building a church hospital, with many friends in many homes'.⁴³² Wilford wrote in *Faith Moves Mountains*, his account of the founding of St George's, that his desire to build a church hospital sprung partly from his belief that the Pilgrims were attempting to establish a Christian Commonwealth in Christchurch of which the hospital was one part along with College House, Church Schools and the Cathedral.⁴³³ He saw the 'salvation of New Zealand'⁴³⁴ in the

⁴²⁸ *Canterbury Papers (1850-1852)* p. 232

⁴²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 286

⁴³⁰ L.C.L. Averill, *St George's Hospital The First Fifty Years*, (Christchurch: St George's Hospital Executive, 1978), p. 11

⁴³¹ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, pp. 16-17

⁴³² Averill, Appendix B, p. 163

⁴³³ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 17

⁴³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 17

completion of this scheme.⁴³⁵ This was because the hospital in this Christian Commonwealth was to provide healthcare with a religious element to it. The relationship between religion and healthcare lay mostly in providing Christian comfort to those who were ill as well as their families. The hospital's role in the salvation of New Zealand would entail firstly continuing the work of the Church in the healing of people's bodies in the Church hospital. Religion can also provide comfort to those who are ill as well as their families. Wilford would have also hoped that there would be healing of souls through the prayers of the nursing sisterhood Wilford wanted to run the hospital and through services in the Chapel. He may well have hoped for the conversion of non-Christians who discovered faith through the works of the hospital whether as patients or through witnessing its Christian-inspired care and compassion.

The relationship between religion and healthcare was greatly emphasized throughout the campaign to build the hospital. The philosophy adopted by Wilford and his supporters is best summed up in a speech made by Bishop Julius during the campaign: 'man cannot be divided into separate compartments independent of each other, a soul here, a body there and a mind somewhere else. Religion is a unifying influence which touches the whole man'.⁴³⁶ In St George's therefore Wilford hoped to create a place to care for the whole person. It was felt that religion played an important role in nursing a person back to health.⁴³⁷ Professor Shelley, a supporter of the scheme, spoke on this point at a meeting on 26 September 1923: 'the spiritual conditions under which healing can best go on; let us give our prayers to back our

⁴³⁵ Wilford to Averill, c. 1950

⁴³⁶ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 16

⁴³⁷ Ibid, p. 27

belief in the power of faith'.⁴³⁸ Faith could provide hope and comfort to those who were ill. It was resolved however that religion should not be forced on to any patient in the hospital.⁴³⁹ Wilford himself believed in healing through faith and wrote of one St George's patient who was cured of an enlarged heart after unction and of a girl who came out of a Hospital Chapel service cured of Bright's disease.⁴⁴⁰ All went back to healing as an important part of Christian ministry from Christ's example.⁴⁴¹ The Mayor, J.A. Flesher, noted in the same 1923 meeting that the supporters of St George's were 'carrying out the commands of the Master Himself, who bade his disciples "Heal the Sick"'.⁴⁴² Archbishop Julius, in his speech at that meeting spoke of the work of the monasteries in caring for the sick during the Middle Ages.⁴⁴³

Wilford also hoped to engage a Church of England nursing sisterhood from England to help run and create 'the atmosphere of the Church'⁴⁴⁴ at the hospital. It was believed that a sisterhood was necessary to run the hospital as it was hoped they would bring with them 'such altruism and unselfishness that a flourishing and expanding work will be born'.⁴⁴⁵ It was also felt that a nursing sisterhood would provide continuity in staffing, as they would not leave as often as secular nurses, dedicated, as they would be, to nursing as a religious vocation. There were economies too to be had in such an expensive operation as a private hospital since a nursing sisterhood would only need money to cover living expenses.⁴⁴⁶ Most importantly, Wilford believed that a nursing sisterhood's religious dedication would

⁴³⁸ *New Zealand Misericordia: A Journal Published In Connection With St. George's Hospital, Christchurch*, no. 1, 30 November 1923, p. 3

⁴³⁹ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 27

⁴⁴⁰ Unction means anointing with holy oil

⁴⁴¹ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 28

⁴⁴² *New Zealand Misericordia*, no.1, p. 2

⁴⁴³ *Ibid*, p.3

⁴⁴⁴ J[ohn] R[ussell] W[ilford], to L[eslie] C[ecil] L[loyd] A[verill], late 1940s, St George's Hospital Trust, St George's Hospital, Christchurch.

⁴⁴⁵ *New Zealand Misericordia*, no. 1, p. 4

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1

be an asset to St George's as they would be able to aid patients through prayer. Nurse Maude, another supporter of the project, spoke in another public meeting about St George's in favour of using a sisterhood.

Now, I imagine [a patient] in the hospital we are going to build. He has the same good nursing and cheery words, but this time it is a Sister. She can understand and probe his mind, and by sympathy and patience make a friend of him. She remembers him in her prayers. By degrees he finds he can unburden his mind to one whose very life is spent in developing the power of sympathy. Gradually he gets rid of his difficulties, and a great peace comes over him. Life takes on a new aspect⁴⁴⁷

It seems therefore that in combining religion and healthcare Wilford and his supporters wanted to create a hospital which provided healing not only through medicine but also through religion. They believed the support and hope of religion combined with prayer could also provide a patient with healing. They also saw religion as method of supporting both patients and their families through the difficulties of ill health.

Wilford's own faith also played an important role in inspiring him to build St George's. He believed that he had been called by God to complete the Pilgrim's hospital. He wrote that 'Forces which I could not resist led me on... God had again "chosen the most hopeless being He could find so that all the glory might be of God and none of man."⁴⁴⁸ Wilford, as already discussed, believed that it was important to do the will of God. This therefore would have added to his determination to start the campaign for the hospital. The influence of the Pilgrims was the other major factor in Wilford's determination to build the hospital and he felt that he was merely carrying

⁴⁴⁷ 'Nurse Maude and the Christchurch Church Hospital – A Speech delivered at a Public Meeting'. *The N.Z. Churchman*, 1 March 1923, p. 23

⁴⁴⁸ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. ix

out their wishes.⁴⁴⁹ It is interesting to note that Wilford never takes any of the credit for St George's. He always talks about the project as belonging to both God and the Pilgrims. This does provide a reason for his actions. He believed that God and the Pilgrims wanted a Church hospital and had appointed him as their living agent. He believed that God had allowed the success of the project: 'The results which followed... I think, do prove that those forces came from God'.⁴⁵⁰ The force of this belief remained with Wilford throughout the rest of his life. Wilford wrote in a letter in the late 1940s to Dr L.C.L. Averill, then head of St George's, about the movement to build St George's: 'Behind it all was the Divine image. Sitting alone and I hope with God by my side... I cannot help wondering whether your shut up floor may not be partly accounted for by the fact that some of you have forgotten the [illegible] God who gave you early wonders. But you think may be that God is having all the difficulties in order to make the executive ask why?'.⁴⁵¹ Wilford's belief that he was doing God's work also helped him to remain confident about the project, as he believed that God would help complete it. He also thought that God had aided them at the start of the campaign. There were plans for another private hospital run by businessmen for profit. Wilford went to see these men and said of the meeting: 'The interview left me bewildered and perturbed... I told myself that the matter was in higher Hands than either theirs or mine. God intervened and stayed the hands of the businessmen, but He saw to it... that none of their preliminary work should be wasted'.⁴⁵² as the St George's Executive acquired not only the plans and specifications for their hospital building but also Dr Crawshaw, their medical advisor, who became an important part of the St George's campaign. Wilford's faith was one of the most

⁴⁴⁹ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 113

⁴⁵⁰ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p.ix

⁴⁵¹ Wilford to Averill, late 1940s, St George's Hospital Trust

⁴⁵² Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 21

important factors in the building of St George as it not only inspired him to build it but it gave him the strength not to lose hope in its completion.

Wilford's decision to build a Church of England Hospital also appears to have been influenced by the 1918 influenza epidemic. When this illness hit Christchurch at the end of World War I Wilford spent a great deal of time in the public hospital doing what the *Church News* described as 'heavy work in the wards'.⁴⁵³ This appears to have involved not only chaplaincy work but also some nursing as well as he wrote: 'I and others tried to take the places made vacant in the Public Hospital by the death of so many of its nurses'.⁴⁵⁴ This is certainly exaggerated as only four of the public hospital nurses died from this illness.⁴⁵⁵ It does however convey one of the main concerns of the time, which was that there was not enough nursing staff to cope with the epidemic as half of the 137 available nursing staff in August 1918 had influenza as well as the Matron and Medical Superintendent.⁴⁵⁶ Wilford and other volunteers, including ministers from the various denominations, those from the Red Cross, St John Ambulance, Sisters of Mercy and members of the general public, tried to substitute for these nurses to the best of their ability. This incident displays Wilford's bravery as working in the hospital increased his chances of contracting the disease; as of the 722 patients admitted to the hospital, 232 died of the disease.⁴⁵⁷ Wilford's desire to begin the campaign for the Church of England Hospital would have been hastened by what he witnessed during the influenza epidemic because as one historian put it: 'The [public] hospital was quite inadequate' in dealing with it.'⁴⁵⁸ Wilford himself wrote: 'the lesson coming with the greater force as often I put aside the

⁴⁵³ 'The Influenza', *Church News*, vol. xlvx, no. 9, 2 Dec 1918 p. 11

⁴⁵⁴ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p, 18

⁴⁵⁵ Geoffrey Rice and Linda Bryder, *Black November The 1918 Influenza Epidemic in New Zealand*, (Wellington: Allen and Unwin, 1988), p. 75

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 75

⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 82

⁴⁵⁸ F. O. Bennett, *Hospital on the Avon*, (Christchurch: North Canterbury Hospital Board, 1962) p. 153

feeding-cup to commend a passing soul into the Hands of his Maker, that a Church hospital must be built.⁴⁵⁹

St George's can also be seen as a part of a trend towards private healthcare that began to develop in New Zealand from 1900 to 1932. A number of private hospitals were opened in New Zealand during that period including Bidwill in Timaru opening in 1912,⁴⁶⁰ Lewisham in Wellington that began in 1929⁴⁶¹ and what is now the Southern Cross Hospital in Invercargill in 1919.⁴⁶² Royston Hospital in Napier was underway before the 1931 earthquake⁴⁶³ while the Mercy Hospital in Auckland grew rapidly during the 1920s due to what its history describes as an increase in demand by Aucklanders for private surgery between 1918 and 1936.⁴⁶⁴ The demand for private healthcare in this period can perhaps be seen as a result of World War I and the Influenza Epidemic after which people began to realize the importance of quality healthcare. The greatest testament to the necessity of a private hospital in Christchurch is that St George's was full five weeks after it opened on 11 February 1928.⁴⁶⁵

The context of this however is whether a private hospital was necessary in Christchurch in the 1920s. Wilford certainly believed it to be the case: 'And now that time for action did seem ripe... The Public Hospital... had to leave alone many for whom it could not care. Private hospitals were too few and too poorly equipped to meet the challenge.'⁴⁶⁶ There is perhaps in this passage another passing reference to the public hospital's problems with the 1918 epidemic as there is no evidence to

⁴⁵⁹ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 18

⁴⁶⁰ <http://www.ubd-online.co.nz/bidwillhospital/>

⁴⁶¹ <http://www.wakefield.co.nz/Hospital.php> Lewisham is now the Wakefield Hospital

⁴⁶² <http://sxhealth.co.nz/index.cfm?C8B2C550-F8DB-47A1-9446-47871A014126>

⁴⁶³ <http://www.royston.co.nz>

⁴⁶⁴ <http://www.ascot-hospital.co.nz/>

⁴⁶⁵ *The Press*, 29 March 1928, p.3

⁴⁶⁶ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 18

suggest that it was struggling during the 1920s. There was however little in the way of private hospital care in Christchurch at this point in time. There was a Roman Catholic Hospital, Lewisham, which had been opened in 1914 as well as some private nursing homes.⁴⁶⁷ Wilford did not view Lewisham as a threat to St George's as it was Catholic: "On all sides I heard the cry, "all honour to the Roman Catholics for building it; but it is no home for us, we are strangers in it".⁴⁶⁸ This provides another reason for building St George's. There was no facility in Christchurch, or for that matter New Zealand, specifically for Church of England patients. There were plenty of Catholic hospitals in New Zealand by the 1920s and Wilford believed that there should be similar Church of England facilities.

Wilford does not appear to have been the only person in Christchurch in 1922 with ideas about private healthcare. The Hospital Board in 1922 was examining the concept of placing private wards for patients in a public hospital. They, like Wilford, realized that 'A certain class of patient had a strong preference for a private hospital and his own doctor'.⁴⁶⁹ The Board favoured this scheme and were in the early planning stages of building a new hospital to accommodate the private wards when Wilford announced the scheme to build St George's. After this announcement the Board backed away from the private ward idea as it felt that there would be competition for patients between St George's and itself, making their scheme impracticable.⁴⁷⁰ As already mentioned there was also the private hospital that businessmen were planning to build. This seems to have been set up as an investment where the citizens of Christchurch were offered a chance to buy into the hospital and then receive returns based on the profit of the hospital. The discussions about these

⁴⁶⁷ Bennett, p. 155

⁴⁶⁸ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 18

⁴⁶⁹ Bennett, p. 154

⁴⁷⁰ Ibid, p. 155

two private healthcare facilities reveals that many perceived, and that there probably existed, a need for private hospitals in Christchurch in the early 1920s. One reason for this can be found in the St George's newsletter the *New Zealand Misericordia*, where the necessity for the new hospital is attributed in part to Christchurch's population growth⁴⁷¹ as more people meant that more healthcare facilities were required. It could also be assumed that an increasing population would include an increase in the number of people willing and able to pay for healthcare such as St George's would offer.

Another reason for St George's was that it was to provide better technology than other private facilities: 'In no private hospital in North Canterbury can X-ray and Bacteriological work be carried out'.⁴⁷² Wilford and his supporters saw this equipment as necessary in the new hospital as these were services that would easily find a market in Christchurch as there were no other options open to those who wanted diagnosis with this equipment but could not get in to or wanted to avoid the public hospital.

Wilford appears to have done some research into the existing private hospitals in New Zealand when creating his plan for St George's, as there are some similarities between the concept of this hospital and other private hospitals in New Zealand especially in terms of both the religious and operational aims of St George's. These aims of St George's can be divided into three categories: religious, charitable and technological, although each of these aims linked with the others. The religious aims of St George's have already been examined as Wilford's belief in the combination of religion and healthcare. The religious aims of St George's do need to be examined further however in terms of its relationship with the Church of England as well as the

⁴⁷¹ *The New Zealand Misericordia*, no. 1, p. 1

⁴⁷² *Ibid*, p. 1

history of the religious community at St George's to give a better idea of the overall concept of the hospital. Wilford believed that St George's should be specifically a Church of England Hospital. This would be achieved by appointing a governing body entirely comprised of members of the Church of England. It was made very clear that no other denominations were to be involved in the administration of the hospital. A letter in *The Press* suggesting that the Quakers should contribute to the hospital scheme⁴⁷³ met with a response from Wilford that this was not a union hospital.⁴⁷⁴ Wilford's resistance to the involvement of other denominations probably was due to his belief that it would put its status as a Church of England hospital in jeopardy as these other denominations could well want a voice in running of the hospital. He also would have felt that an entirely Anglican establishment bore greater relation to the concept of the hospital as a 'Pilgrim' project. The official reason given however was that divided control of the hospital could cause trouble: 'I told them that one of the lessons of the war had been that divided command meant failure and that therefore we had come to the conclusion that it would be inadvisable to make the hospital the property of a combination of religious bodies.'⁴⁷⁵ There was however no restriction upon the denomination of the St George's patients: 'The Hospital will be open to members of any religious body or to persons of no religion at all. Ministers of all religions will be welcomed for their ministrations to the patients at any time.'⁴⁷⁶ Only three months after the opening of the hospital it was noted that 'the Wesleyans had asked to be allowed to appoint a chaplain, and the request had been granted. The same would be done for any other religious body.'⁴⁷⁷ The Christchurch Lewisham

⁴⁷³ *The Press*, 21 August 1922, p. 12

⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 28 August 1922, p. 13

⁴⁷⁵ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains* p. 28

⁴⁷⁶ *The New Zealand Misericordia*, no. 1, p. 1

⁴⁷⁷ *The Press*, 31 May 1928, p. 2

Hospital also admitted any patient regardless of religious affiliation.⁴⁷⁸ It could be speculated that Wilford got this part of the St George's plan from Lewisham, which was opened in 1914. However, it is inconsistent with the aims of the medical profession not to admit people who need medical aid to a hospital. Economics also dictated that a private hospital accept paying patients without restriction.

The rationale behind the appointment of a nursing sisterhood to the hospital has already been explored. But the brief history of the results of the search for the sisterhood should be examined, as it is an important part of the foundation of St George's. Wilford felt that a nursing sisterhood was necessary in the establishment of the hospital; he said 'the whole success of our scheme demands a community'.⁴⁷⁹ A number of letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury did not result in any success although the Archbishop did look for sisters. When writing in reply to Wilford's letters, the Archbishop mentioned his main problem was the lack of nursing sisters.⁴⁸⁰ Wilford also found this to be the case in 1925 when he paid a visit to England. By then most of the religious orders knew of St George's and the need for sisters because of the enquiries of both the Archbishop and Dr Sandston, a member of St George's executive, who had visited England in 1924.⁴⁸¹ But all of these orders told Wilford that they could not spare any of their sisters and could only offer to help with prayer. Wilford did, quite by chance, manage to find a sisterhood during this trip to England. He was at a service in Wales where two sisters were sitting next to him. He discovered they were from a new order called St Elizabeth of Hungary and that they would possibly be interested in working in New Zealand.⁴⁸² They were not however a nursing sisterhood and this caused some revision in the plans for the hospital. It was

⁴⁷⁸ Bennett, p. 155

⁴⁷⁹ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 31

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 31

⁴⁸¹ Ibid, p. 32

⁴⁸² Ibid, p. 32

decided that the sisterhood would take over the management of the hospital⁴⁸³, which probably meant that they looked after domestic and administrative matters. The nursing would be done by trained nurses under the matron, Miss Thwaites.⁴⁸⁴ The three members of the order who came to New Zealand, Mother Alice, Sister Vera and Sister Dorothy, arrived in January 1928 in time for the opening of the hospital.⁴⁸⁵

According to Wilford the relationship between the hospital and the sisters began very well.⁴⁸⁶ This honeymoon period does not seem to have lasted long as problems started to occur in 1929⁴⁸⁷ when the head of the order in England, Mother Elizabeth, began to send out directions regarding the routine of the order's life that did not fit in with life at a hospital.⁴⁸⁸ The main reason for this problem appears to have been distance and communication. It does not appear that the Head had any concept of the type of work the sisters were doing in New Zealand. Either she was not given detailed information about their work or she decided that the order's way of life was more important than the hospital work. Wilford actually puts the difficulties down to distance, as he believed that they could not fully explain their side of the problem in letters and that a conversation with Mother Elizabeth would have resolved the situation.⁴⁸⁹ It is unknown whether this would have been the case but at any rate a decision was made to break away from the Order of St Elizabeth of Hungary and form a new religious community. This new community was to be known as the Order of St Teresa and in 1931 Wilford went back to England to help set it up.⁴⁹⁰ Wilford returned to New Zealand with all the necessary documents for the new community

⁴⁸³ *The Press*, 27 January 1928, p. 2

⁴⁸⁴ Averill, p. 36

⁴⁸⁵ *The Press*, 27 January 1928, p. 2

⁴⁸⁶ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 33

⁴⁸⁷ Averill, p. 52

⁴⁸⁸ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 33

⁴⁸⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 33-34

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 34

only to find Mother Alice remaining. The other three sisters had been visited by an Australian bishop who 'so worked upon their feelings that they left'.⁴⁹¹ Mother Alice stayed at the hospital until her retirement in 1947 but there has never been another religious community attached to the hospital.

The reasons behind the departure of the rest of the Order could possibly be related to the break from St Elizabeth of Hungary. Perhaps the loyalty of the other sisters still lay with their old order and therefore they were not happy with the separation. They were nevertheless offered the chance to return to England at the time of the original separation in 1929 although none of them took it.⁴⁹² They could have perhaps grown increasingly unhappy with the spilt from 1929 onwards. Another reason given was that they were unhappy with the type of work they were carrying out at St George's. As they were not nurses they could only taken part in the domestic side of the hospital and the sisters felt that this was 'not quite the work they had wished for in deciding to join the original order'.⁴⁹³ This could also be the case although there never seems to be any indication that the sisters expected anything else before they arrived at St George's. They may have realized after five years at St George's that this type of work did not suit them. Another important point to mention is that when the sisters left Mother Alice was overseas.⁴⁹⁴ The sisters possibly felt unable to leave while she was present due to either loyalty to her or her authority over them. The discontent caused by the separation from the original order and the work, combined with Australian bishop's presence and Mother Alice's absence, could all have caused the departure of the remaining sisters. There was never any attempt to try and find more sisters to replace those who had departed. This may be connected

⁴⁹¹ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 34

⁴⁹² Averill, p. 52

⁴⁹³ Ibid, p. 52

⁴⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 52

to the departure of Wilford who went to live in England in 1933. The nursing sisterhood was part of Wilford's original plans for the hospital and so without him around there was no one else with the motivation to recruit new sisters.

Another major part of Wilford's plan for the hospital was that it would carry out charitable works and that these should be an important part of the operation of the hospital. Wilford drew this part of his plan from the original Canterbury Association description of the hospital where it was written that 'Works of mercy and charity are acts of religion'.⁴⁹⁵ Wilford himself appears to have strongly believed that the church should provide aid to those in need. In July 1922 a sermon he preached at the Cathedral resulted in him and other members of the congregation starting the Church of England Active Service League.⁴⁹⁶ This was aimed at helping unemployed men in dire poverty find jobs as well as providing them with food and temporary accommodation.⁴⁹⁷ The development of this league gives a good example of Wilford's concept of practical Christianity along the lines laid out by the Canterbury Association. At St George's Wilford could see another way of providing charity in the fulfillment of the aims of the Pilgrims, both of importance to him.

The Canterbury Association's ideology of combining healthcare with charity had a great deal to do with the role of hospitals in Victorian society. In 1851 a wealthy person in ill health would be cared for at home as comfort and resources were often better there than at hospitals. This meant that hospital care was solely for the poor.⁴⁹⁸ In the minds of the planners of the Canterbury settlement therefore a hospital was a charitable institution to care for the health of the poor. Other hospitals in New Zealand at this point in time also followed this pattern. In 1846 Governor Grey

⁴⁹⁵ *Canterbury Papers (1850-1852)*, p. 232

⁴⁹⁶ *The Press*, 1 July 1922, p. 6

⁴⁹⁷ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, pp. 200-201

⁴⁹⁸ Bennett, p. 13

established hospitals in the North Island which were for Maori, poor Pakeha and later used for soldiers during the New Zealand Wars.⁴⁹⁹ By the 1920s however the role of hospitals in society had changed with people from all social levels being treated in hospitals. Wilford's concept of the charitable side of St George's is another good example of him adapting the plans of the Pilgrims to work in better with the needs of 1920s society. Wilford's plan for St George's charity did still owe a great deal to Victorian ideology: he wanted the hospital 'to provide free beds in a small ward for patients who are unable to meet the cost of private hospital accommodation and who, for various reasons, are unfitted for public hospital treatment.'⁵⁰⁰ The similarities to the Victorian system arise from there being one location for poorer patients and others for the wealthy. This charitable wing was to be financed by the hospital itself through its system of directing all profits back into the hospital so that any extra money outside of running costs would be given to this ward.⁵⁰¹ It was decided that this ward should not be opened until the hospital was financially secure.⁵⁰² But the free ward never opened.

There are a number of possible reasons for this such as Wilford's departure in 1933. St George's had some financial difficulties after 1932 due to the Great Depression⁵⁰³ and then after this came the Second World War. There is some indication of this in one of Wilford's letters to Dr, L.C.L. Averill, who was chairman of the St George's executive at that stage, where he speaks of the shut up floor at St George's.⁵⁰⁴ By the time there was surplus money Wilford with his ideals and enthusiasm for the project had departed and no one had filled his place. Perhaps also

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 12

⁵⁰⁰ *The New Zealand Misericordia*, no. 1, p. 1

⁵⁰¹ *The Press*, 21 September 1922, p. 2

⁵⁰² Ibid, 12 February 1929, p. 6

⁵⁰³ Averill, p. 51

⁵⁰⁴ Wilford to Averill, late 1940s

the concept of the free ward had been forgotten or was no longer seen as necessary when there were excess funds. It could also have been that the other members of the hospital executive were not as enthusiastic as Wilford about the concept of this free ward. They may well have realized that the expense of keeping even a small free ward would be immense and so never completed that part of the plan. There is some indication of this in 1927 when there was a mention of a Mrs Annie Curl who wished to donate £1500 towards a four-patient ward named after herself that was to house poor women patients.⁵⁰⁵ Ten months later, however, there is another mention of Mrs Curl recording that the money she donated was to be used towards indigent gentlewomen rather than the ward.⁵⁰⁶ There is no mention of the Board suggesting this second option to her but perhaps they realized that £1500 was not going to go very far in realizing it.

Wilford never gave up on the idea of a free ward. He wrote in *Faith Moves Mountains*, published in 1950: 'I still wait to hear of the opening of a free ward. This I am confidently leaving in the hands of those many quiet workers'.⁵⁰⁷ This is an excellent example of Wilford's tenacity, which allowed him to hold on to the concept of St George's for so many years before the campaign even started. Wilford's determination that St George's should give some form of charitable aid can be seen in newspaper reports about St George's dating from 1929 and 1930. Mention is made of St George's helping poorer patients at the hospital⁵⁰⁸ and the public were reassured that 'Nor has the Association forgotten the desire which was manifested at the beginning of its work-to provide relief to those cases of sickness which were bringing

⁵⁰⁵ St George's Executive Minutes, 2 February 1927, St George's Hospital Trust, St George's Hospital, Christchurch

⁵⁰⁶ Ibid, 6 November 1927

⁵⁰⁷ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 62

⁵⁰⁸ *The Press*, 2 April 1929, p. 2 and 19 June 1930, p. 17

financial difficulty to many homes.’⁵⁰⁹ Wilford’s emphasis on charity in relation to St George’s is certainly related to his interest in practical Christianity. He wrote of those helped by the Active Service League: ‘One of the Master’s gravest injunctions was concerned with them; so to them at this time my sermons had reference’.⁵¹⁰

The third major component of Wilford’s plan for St George’s was that St George’s was to be ‘a hospital which shall be one of the most efficient in the Dominion’ by building ‘it as a permanent building on the lines of the best hospital construction, and to provide it with all the associated equipment’.⁵¹¹ Wilford probably saw the provision of the latest technology and the best equipment as important to the survival of St George’s. A private hospital needs paying patients and in order to encourage people that it is worth paying for healthcare it is necessary to have the highest level technology as well as comfortable facilities. St George’s would also have been in competition with other private healthcare facilities in Christchurch at that time, such as Lewisham and private nursing homes. It therefore had to provide the same or more extensive services as well as having better facilities in order to attract paying patients. This is why the supporters of the scheme promoted the plans for the facilities and technology in *New Zealand Misericordia*:

In no private hospital in North Canterbury can X-Ray and Bacteriological work be carried out... St George’s Hospital will be equipped with these necessary adjuncts... The Hospital had been designed as a new building- not as an adaptation of an old one. The greater initial cost of this procedure is outweighed by its many advantages, which largely increase the comfort and happiness of the patients. The plans provide for every patient’s room getting

⁵⁰⁹ *The Press*, 19 July 1930, p. 17

⁵¹⁰ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, pp. 200-201

⁵¹¹ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 28

direct sunshine for more than half the day, and also, for each room to have access to a verandah or balcony⁵¹²

This part of Wilford's plan does appear to have been acted upon during the establishment of the hospital. On 20 May 1931 in *The Press* there is an article regarding the visit of the Mayor, Mr D.J. Sullivan, to St George's. The article does, in fact, catalogue the impressive range of technology available at the hospital both for the comfort of patients as well as for medical use. In speaking of the resources for patient comfort it says:

St George's is an electrical hospital... Each bed is equipped with a modern lighting system... A power plug over the bed has a number of uses. A cord from a bed warmer may be attached to it and it may also be used for doctors for various purposes, one of which is to project violet rays on to a patient... A wireless plug is placed over each bed with ear-telephones... When a patient desires the attention of a nurse he merely has to press a button over his bed⁵¹³

As for medical technology available:

Eight bulbs on a circular frame throw a light on to the operating table beneath and are so placed that it is impossible for the surgeon to cast a shadow on the patient. The X-Ray room is also equipped on up-to-date lines and another piece of modern equipment is an electric pump for use in operations for the removal of tonsils⁵¹⁴

Much of the technology referred to in the article, although familiar in hospitals today, was worthy of note in 1931 because it was all so new. X-Ray technology only thirty-six years old;⁵¹⁵ electrical light was beginning to be used by the end of the nineteenth

⁵¹² *The New Zealand Misericordia*, no. 1 p. 1

⁵¹³ *The Press*, 20 May 1931, p. 2

⁵¹⁴ Ibid

⁵¹⁵ http://www.lixi.com/xray_history.htm

century; electrical appliances were appearing at about the same time as St George's was being built.⁵¹⁶ Radio was also quite new when the article was written. The reason that the technological part of Wilford's plan for St George's succeeded while others did not was because it was necessary for the success of the hospital in terms of operations as well as getting business. Charity and religion while adding extra appeal to the hospital for some people did not aid in the overall running of the hospital in the way that technology did. For example, when the concept of a sisterhood did not work then secular nurses, who were far easier to acquire than nursing sisters, could easily replace them.

It was envisaged that maintaining a high level of technological advancement would be funded from the hospital itself. Wilford did not want St George's to be run for profit; 'Instead of, as most private hospitals, the excess of income over expenditure being devoted to private purposes, in St George's Hospital it will be entirely devoted to increase the equipment and efficiency of the Hospital and to enlarge its capacity.'⁵¹⁷ As already mentioned Wilford hoped to finance the free ward from any leftover funds. Wilford's reasons for operating St George's along these lines was so that no one individual or organization could profit from it, which would enable the hospital to grow in size, strength and facilities. Wilford also believed that this system would better enable the hospital to have a charitable focus as he believed that there should be money 'to help increasing numbers of those whose means are inadequate to their support 'once the hospital had paid for itself.'⁵¹⁸ It is interesting to note that another private hospital - Bidwell in Timaru - has a very similar financial system to St George's. It also was not run for profit, had charitable aims and invested

⁵¹⁶ <http://www.ieee-virtual-museum.org/exhibit/exhibit.php?taid=&id=159249&lid=1&seq=7&view=>

⁵¹⁷ *The New Zealand Misericordia*, no. 1 p. 1

⁵¹⁸ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 28

all profits back into the hospital to ensure top quality equipment and facilities.⁵¹⁹ As Bidwell was established in 1912, ten years before the start of the St George's campaign, it is possible that Wilford adopted the financial system for St George's from there.

According to Wilford, the campaign to build St George's was launched at a meeting in the College House dining room in August 1922.⁵²⁰ However, the newspaper reports of the scheme tell a slightly different story. Wilford preached a sermon about the hospital project the Sunday before the meeting.⁵²¹ In newspaper accounts both of the meeting and the sermon Wilford mentions that donations had already been made towards the scheme. In his sermon he talks of five acres given towards the scheme⁵²² while at the meeting he said that people were stopping him in the street and offering funds towards the hospital.⁵²³ It can be gathered from this that before the meeting the scheme was already underway. However, the August meeting was the public start of the campaign. Both accounts of the meeting mention that the College House dining room was full; Wilford even joked that it was lucky that the Christ's College versus Christchurch Boy's High School match was on at the same time otherwise they would not have been able to fit everyone in.⁵²⁴ Planned fundraising activities for the hospital began very soon afterwards. A street collection, which was held a few weeks later, raised £500⁵²⁵ showing the immediate popularity of the scheme in Christchurch.

The search for land for the hospital also showed the generosity of some Christchurch people towards the hospital. The five acres mentioned in Wilford's

⁵¹⁹ <http://www.ubd-online.co.nz/bidwillhospital/>

⁵²⁰ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 19

⁵²¹ *The Press*, 14 August 1922, p. 7

⁵²² *Ibid*, 14 August 1922, p. 7

⁵²³ *Ibid*, 17 August 1922, p. 10

⁵²⁴ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 19 and *The Press*, 17 August 1922, p. 10

⁵²⁵ *The Press*, 8 September 1922, p. 2

sermon were donated by J.E. Rountree as a site for the hospital or for use in connection with it.⁵²⁶ Unfortunately it was out in Marshlands and therefore deemed too far away for the hospital and finally sold.⁵²⁷ Wilford records that another one and a half acres were offered in 1922⁵²⁸ while *The Press* reported that Sir Robert Heaton Rhodes had also offered a site for the hospital behind Elmwood Park.⁵²⁹ In October 1922 Bishop Julius proposed that land at Bishopcourt should be offered for sale to the hospital.⁵³⁰ But this proposal was rejected by Synod⁵³¹ and resulted in at least one indignant letter to *The Press*.⁵³² It was finally decided to purchase a piece of land in Merivale for £750.⁵³³ This site was deemed appropriate as it was in the ‘healthiest part of Christchurch’⁵³⁴ as well as being close to the tram but also distanced from Papanui Road for noise not to be a problem. Land was also bought that connected the site to Leinster Road, providing two entrances to the hospital.⁵³⁵

A large amount of money was still required however to build a hospital on this block of land. In 1924, it was estimated that around £20,000 was needed to build two wings of the hospital.⁵³⁶ By 1928 Wilford reported that the figure was now £40,000; however this was for a fully equipped hospital not just the buildings.⁵³⁷ It is a tribute to Wilford’s determination and charisma that many people donated their money or their time to the project so that much of the money required for the hospital was raised. In 1928 at the opening of the hospital Wilford reported that £26,000 of the £40,000 required had been raised.

⁵²⁶ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 23

⁵²⁷ Averill, p. 20 and 53

⁵²⁸ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 23

⁵²⁹ *The Press*, 21 September 1922, p.2

⁵³⁰ Ibid, 18 October 1922, p. 6

⁵³¹ Ibid, 24 October 1922, p. 6

⁵³² Ibid, 28 October 1922, p. 9

⁵³³ Averill, p. 20

⁵³⁴ St George’s Executive Minutes, 2 April 1924

⁵³⁵ *The New Zealand Misericordia*, no. 1, p. 3

⁵³⁶ St George’s Executive Minutes, 6 February 1924

⁵³⁷ *The Press*, 27 January 1928, p. 2

There were a number of methods used to raise money for the hospital both by the hospital executive as well as the ladies committee who played a major role in fundraising for the hospital. One method used by the executive at the start of the campaign was to appeal to well-known Canterbury residents. Before a major fundraising campaign was launched in 1923 it was decided that it was a good idea to get some well-known and wealthy members of Canterbury society to donate money to the project.⁵³⁸ A list of people to target for money was drawn up and divided between six collecting teams who were all armed with information about the hospital as well as receipt forms with the names of the Patron, Bishop Julius, the Treasurer and the Collector on them.⁵³⁹ There was a great deal of sense in this plan. Firstly, it set a precedent for giving; once one person had donated money then others were more likely to follow suit because it confirmed that the project had some momentum and was more likely to reach its goal. Attracting important names to the project was also a good idea because of ‘snob appeal’; some people would look at the list of contributors and donate money because the fashionable and important people were doing so. Wealthy people were also more likely to have extra money to donate to the project.

This scheme did have some of the hallmarks of Wilford’s fundraising methods about it. While Wilford was fundraising for the church at Horsley Down he used a similar tactic in appealing to the, hopefully wealthy, friends of J.D. Lance when building a church in memory of him. Wilford was also excellent at recruiting important people in Canterbury to become part of the campaign. One such person was George Gould who was the Gould in Pyne, Gould and Guinness. George Gould became an important part of the campaign to build St George’s, becoming chairman

⁵³⁸ St George’s Executive Minutes, 27 July 1923

⁵³⁹ Ibid, 27 July 1923 and 13 August 1923

of the executive from 1927 to 1940.⁵⁴⁰ In a speech he made at the opening of the hospital on 11 February 1928 he recalled Wilford's persistence in getting him involved in the hospital:

The manner of man he was could best be shown by the way he handled the speaker. He had declined to subscribe, feeling the project was unpracticable. Later he had given the Canon a cheque, but he did not get peace and quietness that he had expected. Then the Canon asked him to be chairman of the executive, but he declined. The Canon, however, got in league with the speaker's wife, and very soon he found he was chairman, willing or not.⁵⁴¹

George Gould was an important figure to recruit for the St George's campaign as he was well known in Christchurch society. Gould justified Wilford's faith in his usefulness during the final stages of the building section of the project. The hospital was granted an overdraft by its bank when paying contractors before and after building the hospital. They still nonetheless had to pay interest on this overdraft. Gould remedied this situation by getting some of his friends to lend the hospital money.⁵⁴² Wilford also managed to recruit some important figures on to the first executive of the hospital, including Captain Tahu Rhodes, Thomas Chapman, T.D. Harman, J. Hall and H.D. Acland.⁵⁴³ The tactic of getting important figures to donate money to the campaign appears to have been fairly successful according to the various subscription lists. Money was received from Sir Robert Heaton Rhodes, who

⁵⁴⁰ Averill, p. 27 and p. 67

⁵⁴¹ *The Press*, 13 February 1928, p. 8

⁵⁴² Averill, p. 28

⁵⁴³ St George's Executive Minutes, 27 April 1923 and 30 May 1923

contributed £1000, P. Elworthy gave £100⁵⁴⁴ while H.F. Wigram⁵⁴⁵ and Robert MacDougall⁵⁴⁶ also contributed.

The executive also appointed an official collector, Mr Harold Studholme, from another well-known Canterbury family, to canvass all of Canterbury for donations.⁵⁴⁷ It was probably felt that an official paid collector was the best way of raising money from country areas. It also allowed for there to be one face associated with fundraising so people knew who to go to with enquiries or to make donations. The fact he was part of the social elite would have helped as well. Wilford also attempted to recruit support for the scheme in England during his visit there in 1925. He preached a sermon at Canterbury Cathedral about the Canterbury Pilgrims and their aims as well as talking about the Church Hospital scheme and how that was taking shape in Christchurch at that time.⁵⁴⁸ He also established the St George's Association in England. He hoped that this group would be able to provide 'practical help'⁵⁴⁹ for the hospital, probably mostly in the form of money but also with help in finding hospital equipment. Wilford again used his tactic of targeting influential people. It was reported in *The Press* that the hospital had been the subject of conversation during two visits to Buckingham Palace and that one of the Queen's ladies-in-waiting belonged to the St George's Association. This group's only contribution to the hospital however appears to have been some money.⁵⁵⁰

Wilford seems to have been attempting to forge some links between the Hospital project and 'Home', as England was referred to in 1920s New Zealand. This was largely for money raising purposes but also may have had something to do with

⁵⁴⁴ St George's Executive Minutes, 5 March 1924

⁵⁴⁵ Ibid, 31 March 1925

⁵⁴⁶ Ibid, 2 November 1927

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid, 4 March 1925

⁵⁴⁸ 'Christchurch', *N. Z. Churchman*, vol. 6, 1 December 1925, p. 92

⁵⁴⁹ St George's Executive Minutes, 3 February 1926

⁵⁵⁰ Averill, p. 24

recreating the links between Canterbury and the England that had existed when the colony was formed. It is worthy of note that one person Wilford involved in the project while in England was ‘the Hon. the Rev Edward Lyttelton, son of the original chairman of the Canterbury Association’.⁵⁵¹ The main reason behind Wilford’s desire to link England and the hospital project was probably due to what James Belich refers to as ‘recolonisation’, that is to say the ‘renewal and reshaping of links’⁵⁵² to draw New Zealand closer to England. Wilford was attempting to do this during his 1925 trip to England to get support for the hospital from ‘home’. He furthered linked England to New Zealand in the choice of the name for the hospital, St George’s, as St George is the patron saint of England. Wilford’s description of the reaction to the name of the hospital is a good example of neo-colonial attitude: ‘Those far-away folk in the most extreme part of the British Empire cheered as I told them that one of the reasons was to link us more closely with the England we loved’.⁵⁵³ Otherwise the name concisely stated the ideology of the hospital, as Wilford believed that at St George’s they were slaying the dragon of ill-health. It also promulgated the religious nature of the hospital as St George’s last words were reported to be: ‘Keep the faith I have taught you and believe in God and His Christ’ which Wilford saw as a message for the future of St George’s as ‘dire calamity would descend on them [the future managers of the hospital] if ever they should forget that the hope and consolation of the Gospel must be combined with medical skill.’⁵⁵⁴

Most other methods of fundraising used in the building of St George’s appear to have been run by the ‘ladies’ committee. The most important of these forms of fundraising was the St George’s market that was held from 1923 until the mid-1930s.

⁵⁵¹ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 33

⁵⁵² James Belich, *Paradise Reforged*, (Auckland: Penguin, 2001) p. 29

⁵⁵³ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 38

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 38

These markets seem to have become popular and were also a good method of fundraising for the hospital. The first market in 1923 raised £1163⁵⁵⁵ and steadily increased each year, so by 1927 it raised £3171 16 1 for the hospital.⁵⁵⁶ Cake stalls were also held weekly at Everybody's Theatre in the Square.⁵⁵⁷ One child at the St George's children's party in 1924 dressed up as the Everybody's Cake Stall.⁵⁵⁸ This children's party was one of a number of social occasions held by the 'ladies' committee to raise funds for St George's. They also held bridge parties and a 'Powder and Patch' Ball.⁵⁵⁹

An examination of the names of those who organized or attended these events show what section of Christchurch society was involved in the St George's project. They include names such as Dampier Crossley, Ollivier, Shand, Cracroft Wilson, Cowlshaw, Dobson, Garbett, Ballantyne, as well as a young Ngaio Marsh.⁵⁶⁰ This shows the success of Wilford's appeal to the Canterbury elite. These events of the women's committee were important as they also helped to raise the profile of the hospital; reports of these social activities were included in the Women's Corner of *The Press*. Word of mouth regarding these social events probably also helped considerably. Other types of fundraising would also have been good publicity. These included a Rose Day, which was based on an idea of Queen Alexandra's where ladies in London sold roses for hospitals.⁵⁶¹ The same idea was used for St George's and £280 2 11 was raised from this as well as £148 6 7 from the sale of pencils with St George's written on them.⁵⁶² The women also raised £400 from stalls at an industrial

⁵⁵⁵ St George's Executive Minutes, 31 October 1923

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid, 2 November 1927

⁵⁵⁷ *The Press*, 7 May 1925, p.2

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid, 17 June 1924, p. 2

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid, 27 August 1924, p. 2

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid, 7 May 1925, p.2, 17 June 1924, p. 2 and 27 August 1924, p. 2

⁵⁶¹ Ibid, 23 June 1922, p. 2

⁵⁶² Account Statement in St George's Executive Minutes, 31 March 1925

exhibition including one that sold tobacco!⁵⁶³ The women's committee played an important role in the campaign to build St George's as they organized almost all of the public fundraising activities associated with St George's and in doing so enabled the success of the project. George Gould spoke of their 'unsparing devotion' to the hospital campaign⁵⁶⁴ while Wilford spoke of them as the 'sinews of war' led by the 'generals in the world of finance'.⁵⁶⁵

Despite the success of the fundraising campaign there were a number of people who were not in favour of St George's Hospital. At the meeting at College House in August 1922 there was at least one detractor present who appears to have been sent by a group opposed to the scheme. This person must have spoken to Wilford later and told him about this as he records that the person was 'led captive by the surrounding influences and left utterly unable to voice his protest. He went back to tell those who had sent him that no power in earth or heaven could stop the movement.'⁵⁶⁶ Another early objection to the project came from the North Canterbury Hospital Board who ran the public hospital. In the minutes of their September 1922 meeting published in *The Press* they asked Wilford for an interview, saying that they wished Wilford had talked to the Board before beginning the scheme. More unreasonably they said that they had sympathy for the Church hospital scheme but that it would make trouble for them though they did not specify why. Their annoyance does not appear to have been directed at the concept of the Church Hospital but more at Wilford becoming involved in what they considered their business, especially as they were in preliminary stages of their own venture, which Wilford's plans for a Church Hospital had just ended. They also appear to have been

⁵⁶³ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, pp. 23-4

⁵⁶⁴ *The Press*, February 13 1928, p. 8

⁵⁶⁵ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p.22

⁵⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 20

concerned that they would be appealed to for money although they acknowledged, rather wryly, that 'Canon Wilford was a marvel at extracting money for his good objects'.⁵⁶⁷ Wilford responded to the Board that he was happy to meet with them at any stage but also pointed out that he had no idea that the Board would be so adverse to his plan particularly as they had not objected to either Lewisham or the plans of the businessmen.⁵⁶⁸

Another group who were not in favour of the Church hospital were, rather surprisingly, some other members of the Anglican clergy. While The Christchurch Clerical Association sent a letter endorsing the proposal to the August 1922 meeting, this was not a unanimous decision. Wilford was invited by Bishop Julius to present a report on the progress of St George's to Synod in October 1922. Before he could do so the Venerable P.B. Haggitt objected that the report had not gone through Standing Committee.⁵⁶⁹ According to the newspaper report, this motion was not carried and the report was tabled. Wilford paints a much more dramatic picture with Julius using his authority as Bishop to stop the motion from going through Synod because of his support for the scheme.⁵⁷⁰ Wilford's accounts of events are not always reliable possibly because he was writing many years afterwards while living on the other side of the world.

His account does illustrate however the hostility of some clergy towards the scheme. Haggitt probably would not have objected to the technical details of presentation of the report if he had supported the project. Harold Studholme, when collecting in South Canterbury, also discovered how hostile some clergy were towards the scheme. Rev. Cocks, incidentally one of Wilford's old students from College

⁵⁶⁷ *The Press*, 28 September 1922, p. 5

⁵⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 5 October 1922, p. 2

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 18 October 1922, p. 6

⁵⁷⁰ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, pp 29-30

House, did not believe that the Church should be getting involved with hospitals, as it was the business of government. He did agree not to be hostile to parishioners collecting money. Rev. Wilkinson at Otipua was not in favour of the hospital either and presented Studholme with a pamphlet on the evils of collecting money. One synod representative told him that the hospital was of no use to them as it was too far away. The Archdeaconry meeting in Timaru did not pass support of the scheme either.⁵⁷¹ It should be noted however that there were supporters amongst the clergy including two visited by Studholme in South Canterbury. Rev. Cocks's attitude towards the hospital does appear to have been a general one shared by many other opponents of the scheme as Bishop Julius addressed this issue directly in one of the speeches he made about the hospital.⁵⁷² Others appear to have been concerned that money going towards the hospital should instead be going to other charitable institutions. Another problem faced by the supporters of St George's was people's ignorance of the scheme. Wilford wrote that some people thought that 'St George's was being started for making a rich cash return for service rendered.'⁵⁷³ The supporters of St George's decided to remedy this by holding open days at the site of the new hospital to provide people with information about the hospital. Wilford said this resulted in much of the opposition disappearing.⁵⁷⁴ *New Zealand Misericordia* was set up for a similar purpose.

Wilford did not let this opposition get in the way of the project to build the hospital. Bishop Julius said of him that 'Canon Wilford, [was] backed by his deafness when anyone attempts to refuse his requests'.⁵⁷⁵ Wilford's deafness was of course his determination. He appeared to have been aware of the opposition but had a strong

⁵⁷¹ Harold Studholme to St George's Executive, St George's Executive Minutes, 27 May 1925

⁵⁷² Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. 47

⁵⁷³ Ibid, p. 37

⁵⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 37

⁵⁷⁵ Ibid, p. ix

enough personality not to get disenchanted by it. Wilford's determination to build the hospital enabled him to become a strong leader of the group of supporters involved in building the hospital. His motivational abilities are best reflected in the fact that it was decided to fundraise for and build a new wing only two years after the main building was opened.⁵⁷⁶ He writes of his role in the building of St George's with almost a sense of bewilderment: 'I suppose, in a way, I was the leader of the movement. I do not know how it came about. It was not that anyone chose me. Forces which I could not resist led me on.'⁵⁷⁷

Wilford could perhaps be seen as choosing himself to be the leader of the St George's project as he had the vision, inspired both by faith and by the Canterbury Pilgrims, to build a church hospital as well as the enthusiasm, the faith and the charisma to carry it out. He was also excellent, as the Hospital Board acknowledged, at getting people to contribute money to a scheme. This can be seen not only in the large sum of money raised for the hospital but more specifically in a debt reduction campaign of 1928. Wilford was offered £100 by a Christchurch resident on the condition that nine others subscribed for the same amount by the next Saturday.⁵⁷⁸ A week later the £900 had been received and Wilford was campaigning for another £1000,⁵⁷⁹ which he said that he gathered after a few hours on the telephone.⁵⁸⁰ One letter to *The Press* spoke of Wilford as a 'force that declares itself.'⁵⁸¹ Perhaps the most important quality that Wilford possessed for St George's was his ability to attract people to himself and his campaigns. This can be seen in an anonymous account written about Wilford by one involved in St George's.

⁵⁷⁶ *The Press*, 22 January 1930, p. 10

⁵⁷⁷ Wilford, *Faith Moves Mountains*, p. ix

⁵⁷⁸ *The Press*, 4 June 1928, p. 12

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid*, 11 June 1928, p. 8

⁵⁸⁰ Wilford, *Southern Cross and Evening Star*, p. 113

⁵⁸¹ *The Press*, 16 February 1926, p. 9

Many people have learnt to follow him [Wilford], and touched by his fire; encouraged by his prayers have learnt to so trust in God that for years they have overcome every difficulty... When we heard that our Canon was going back to England, so many lost heart and courage – the great driving force, the tremendous personality, the man is going away how can we go on?⁵⁸²

The qualities enumerated by the author of this piece seem to adequately sum up why Wilford was able to make his vision of a Church Hospital happen. He never believed the project to be impossible even during the long years between first hearing of the Pilgrim's hospital and acting upon his idea. He was able to attract people to him who had the skills needed for the project as well as the enthusiasm to make them use these skills. Although all the facets of his plan for the hospital did not entirely work, he endowed Christchurch with a technologically advanced, brilliantly equipped private hospital.

⁵⁸² Anonymous account of Wilford, St George's Archives, St George's Hospital, Christchurch

Conclusion

Wilford had three different yet interrelated roles during his time in New Zealand. He was a church leader, a community builder and a coloniser. His role as a church leader relates to his parish ministries in Waikari and Prebbleton as well as the prominence he gained as Principal of College House and founder of St George's. Wilford's own faith and religious practices is key to understanding him as a church leader. He also worked to build communities of faith in the Waikari and Prebbleton parishes. His skills as a fundraiser are also part of his work as a community builder. Lastly, Wilford was a coloniser and his great interest in the Canterbury Pilgrims is a reflection of this. When he spoke of the Christian Commonwealth he meant the development of closer ties between church and society to form the Christian colony that he believed to be the aim of the Pilgrims.

A part of Wilford's beliefs about the role of a church leader are revealed in his comment about tending souls, that is caring for their spiritual well being. For him a church leader had a pastoral duty to care for all of those in his parish. Wilford's ministry in Waikari shows him doing this by spending a good deal of time visiting parishioners throughout his parish, spending nights away from home if necessary. The SPCK material was an important part of his visits, as he would have felt that reading about faith would strength the parishioners. He also used this material to ward off what he saw as more dangerous material that he thought would discourage people's faith by speaking of eternal damnation. His mission to the railway workers at Scargill reflects back to his work back in England but again show him trying to care for souls in his parish by providing everyone with opportunities for worship. Wilford's services to the railway workers are important in his role as a church leader as he is working as a missionary caring for those who had moved away from religion

or had never experienced it. This meant that he was willing to care for souls of those outside his own parish. Wilford led the parish in increasing religious education in Waikari to tend the souls of children by providing Sunday schools and religious education to children who wanted it at the local schools.

Because Wilford believed so strongly that these jobs were part of the role of a church leader it is unlikely that he did anything differently at Prebbleton. He would have continued his pattern of visiting as many parishioners as possible. It would however have been easier than Waikari as the physical area was smaller. Wilford's enthusiasm for the General Mission of 1910 is also a good indication of his belief that a church leader should tend souls. The General Mission was a New Zealand-wide Anglican venture where missionaries came over from England to lead parishes in missions aimed at new conversions and strengthening the faith of existing parishioners. Although Prebbleton was only allocated one English missionary Wilford organised local clergymen to hold missions at Templeton and Islington so that all three main centres of the parish were covered. The Islington mission particularly fits in to Wilford's pastoral aims as services were introduced to the local freezing works.

In order to understand Wilford as a church leader it is necessary to examine his own faith. The General mission is particularly helpful for this as it demonstrates Wilford's belief in the power of prayer. Wilford asked the congregation to pray for the upcoming mission and prayer groups may have been held in the parish to also pray for it. Prayer was an important part of all mission services and in some cases it was expected that there would be prayers in the church throughout the mission week. Wilford's work with the building of St George's Hospital is another good example. This is particularly because of the letter he wrote to Averill just after World War II

stating his belief that the success of St George's Hospital was due to the prayers of people involved in the project. As a church leader Wilford would have encouraged his parishioners to pray and would have prayed for them himself.

The General Mission also emphasised Wilford's Anglo-Catholicism. Anglo-Catholicism was another important part of Wilford as it shaped his church leadership style. The Anglo-Catholic community in England often held missions and the community at Mirfield was a community based around the concept of home missions. Although missions were not an entirely Anglo-Catholic field, Anglo-Catholic elements such as processions were often incorporated into missions like the one at Prebbleton. Anglo-Catholicism is also important in understanding Wilford's leadership style. The mission to the freezing workers at Islington and railway workers at Scargill relate to the idea of liberal Catholicism, tending the souls of the underprivileged as their poverty could affect their faith. Wilford was an exponent of this, especially demonstrated in the charitable aims of the St George's hospital scheme. Wilford's Anglo-Catholicism is also related to his interest in the Canterbury Pilgrims as both look to the past, Anglo-Catholicism looks to the pre-Reformation Catholic traditions while Wilford's interest in the Pilgrims looks back to the founding principles of the Canterbury colony. Knowledge of Wilford's Anglo-Catholicism is also useful when examining his work at College House particularly the conflict he had with Rev. W. A. Orange. It would also have shaped his leadership and teaching of students, particularly theological, at College House, in that he would have passed on some of his Anglo-Catholic beliefs and traditions on them. This was certainly noted by some students, especially the one who described his theology as 'medieval'.

Wilford as a church leader can also be seen during the St George's campaign. His ability to gather people around him with the skills to work on the project and to

fill them with his enthusiasm for it is particularly worth noting. As are the anonymous comments found in the St George's archive which speak of his enthusiasm and inspiration are also useful in establishing what Wilford was like as a leader in this particular instance. Wilford also had a single mindedness, or 'deafness' as Bishop Julius described it, which meant that he was not discouraged by the criticisms and doubts that were raised by some about St George's. The success of St George's can, at least in part, be attributed to the qualities enumerated above. The failure of his plans for College House, however, is also related to these leadership qualities. The single mindedness that allowed him to overcome all opposition to St George's made him unwilling to look at the larger context, particularly that of the Christ's College Board. This resulted in part in the eventual difficulties between the parties that meant the end of the College House scheme. Some members of the Board were certainly enthusiastic about the scheme but the problems between the two parties overcame that.

Wilford's work as a church leader in Waikari and Prebbleton was also aimed at building a community of faith in these two parishes. Wilford's community building in Waikari involved the building of two new churches at Horsley Down and Scargill. These were both developing areas – Horsley Down because of the breaking up of the Horsley Down estate under the Land for Settlements scheme and Scargill because of the railway – and Wilford would have wanted to build up a church going community amongst the new settlers to the area. Horsley Down in particular had reached a stage in its growth – Purchas's macrocarpa stage – where each denomination wanted their own space for worship. Wilford would have felt that a new church would be a central focus for these communities of faith as it gave parishioners a space to worship in their

own Anglican manner. A church also provided a greater sense of belonging as people identified themselves as part of that particular church.

The church building projects in Waikari were also important for Wilford on a personal level as they developed the fundraising abilities that he was to use later in life, especially with the St George's Hospital campaign. It is interesting to note the similarities between both fundraising efforts. Both campaigns used sales of work or bazaars to raise funds and both appealed to members of the Canterbury elite for money. This was sensible as the elite were usually also the wealthy and would have had extra money to donate to worthy causes. This was not as overt at Horsley Down as here Wilford appealed to those who had known and were friends of Mr Lance, many of whom would have been members of the elite like the Lances. During the St George's campaign members of the executive visited members of the elite to raise interest and funds for the hospital. Wilford himself tried to fill the executive with important members of Canterbury society like George Gould. It can be concluded from this that Wilford found this appeal to the elite successful at Horsley Down where a large amount of money was raised for the church and therefore recycled the idea with St George's.

Wilford used the General Mission in Prebbleton as another method of developing a community of faith. The main aim of the mission was to spread faith and Wilford would have hoped that this would mean more people coming to church. This would expand the community of faith in the Prebbleton parish. It was also hoped that the Mission would strengthen the community of faith by providing parishioners with a stronger faith and a greater enthusiasm for religion. Wilford's account of the mission in *Southern Cross and Evening Star* indicates that the mission was successful in doing both these as he gives anecdotes of people coming to him telling him that

they were returning to church because of the mission. He also mentions some long-term parishioners telling him how much the mission had strengthened their faith and given them a renewed spiritual purpose.

Wilford's belief in pastoral work was also aimed at strengthening the community of faith in similar ways to the Mission. By visiting people and providing them with reading material Wilford was strengthening the community of faith by developing the beliefs of the people within it. This also meant that Wilford would not lose members of the community because of a loss of faith or interest in the church. By providing religious instruction to children Wilford was also ensuring the continuation of the community of faith. This was because children with a solid religious grounding were more likely to continue to hold religious beliefs and would be the adult congregation of the future.

Wilford's rebuilding work at College House was aimed at expanding the existing community into an Oxbridge style college focussed on theological study. Wilford came into a well-established community in 1913 when he became Principal with its own particular traditions and structure. Wilford did not make any attempts to change these traditions although he did institute a new one in the form of the magazine 'The House'. This would have been aimed at strengthening the College House community by giving them a space to record their stories, jokes and traditions. It also provided news about old boys indicating membership of the College House community continued after leaving.

Wilford's plans to rebuild College House would, however, have changed the nature of the College House community greatly. College House was viewed as a boarding hostel crossed with a university college. Wilford wanted to enhance the university college side to make it more like the Oxbridge Colleges he was familiar

with in England. This meant that College House would provide a greater amount of teaching in the theological area as Canterbury College catered for other subjects. In his plan to the Christ's College Board Wilford outlined the need for more professorships, scholarships and, most importantly, space to make this happen. This would have changed the nature of the College House community because the rebuilding would mean a greater number of theological students. There had usually been a greater number of students boarding so they could attend Canterbury College. Wilford was therefore aiming to create a community of theological students at College House.

St George's was a hospital built for the community of the city of Christchurch although especially for the Anglican community within it. There were three main aims, religious, charitable and technological behind the St George's project, each of which would benefit the Christchurch community. The religious aim was to provide a hospital that would care for the whole person – both bodily and spiritually. The spiritual side would be care for by the nursing sisterhood that Wilford hoped to find, through prayer by the sisterhood and the chaplain and through services in the hospital chapel. In this way, it was felt, the patient and the patient's family could have, if they wished, the consolation of religion during ill health. This would have appealed to Christian groups of all denominations in the Christchurch community although the hospital was specifically an Anglican venture. Part of the rationale behind the building of St George's was that it was for the Anglican community to give them a place, like the Catholics had at Lewisham, where they could receive spiritual treatment in the traditions of their denomination alongside treatment of their ill health. This meant that it was also mainly an Anglican enterprise to build it with its patron

being Bishop Julius and with members of the Anglican community being responsible for the fundraising efforts.

Wilford was also insistent about the charitable aims of the hospital, which was that a small ward be set up for patients who could not afford the fees. Some contributors to the scheme, such as Mrs Annie Curl, gave money to be used for charitable purposes. Wilford also believed that others gave money because of its charitable aims. Wilford's enthusiasm for the charitable aims was due to his religious beliefs and the liberal Catholicism of his own Anglo-Catholic persuasion. Wilford would have felt that it was important to help the disadvantaged in the community and saw St George's as a method of doing this. Wilford continued to hold on to the idea of the charitable ward for the rest of his life although it never happened. This was probably because the Board of Governors realised that the cost of running such a ward would be prohibitive.

The third aim of the hospital was technological. St George's was to have the latest available technology because this would better aid the works of the hospital and also encourage people to use it as at the time there were no other private facilities providing services like bacteriology. This would also have encouraged people to contribute to the scheme, as they believed that it would be a high quality establishment. The technological aim also meant that St George's would provide the community with a high level of service and facilities. There would also be resources for those who wanted X-rays and other medical treatment but could not get it through the public system.

Wilford's interest in the Canterbury Pilgrims developed during his time in Waikari during conversations with Rev. C. A. Fraer. This interest in the Pilgrims was an important part of Wilford as it inspired him with both the College House and St

George's projects. It is also closely related to Wilford as a coloniser as Wilford, like the Pilgrims, believed that the church, that is the Church of England, should have an important role in society. The Pilgrims wanted to create a society in Christchurch that had the church as its centre. Wilford wanted to restore these links between church and society with his Christian Commonwealth where important institutions such as St George's Hospital, College House, schools and the cathedral were all linked together by religion.

Wilford as a coloniser is not only seen in the Pilgrim projects of St George's and College House but also in his own parish ministry. Waikari is a particularly good example as new communities were developing in the area at Horsley Down and Scargill. Wilford therefore had to bring the Church of England to these new areas. The best way for Wilford to do this was to build churches in the new area to provide space for Church of England style worship. Wilford would also have envisaged the churches like those of an English village, at the centre of the community with church social events along with the services. The fundraising efforts would also bring the church into the community by uniting people in a common cause to raise money for the new church. Wilford's own description of the pioneering conditions in Waikari also gives some indication of the similarities he felt between himself and the Pilgrims. Both were living pioneering lifestyles in an attempt to form closer ties between church and society.

The Mission in the Prebbleton parish also was aimed at bringing church and society closer together. This was to be done during the mission week by bringing the church into the community. The Flying Squadron that delivered mission pamphlets and news were one method Wilford used to do this. Another was the use of processions where the church actively got out and moved around the local area

making those who saw it aware of the church. The material handed out during the mission was also another method of telling people about the church and the mission with mission information and ideas printed on them. The main aim of this was to bring people into the church after the mission by converting them to Christianity or reawakening their interest in faith. Part of Wilford's real interest in missionary work of this nature was that it forged closer relations between church and society and encouraged more people to come into the church community.

Wilford saw College House as part of the 'Christian Commonwealth'. One part of this was that both he and the Pilgrims saw it as a place where the future leaders of the colony could be trained in the Christian lifestyle alongside gaining a university education. The Pilgrims would have believed it to be important that the future leaders of the colony would be religious to preserve the close links between church and society. Wilford would have thought that creating young Christian gentlemen as future leaders at College House would be a way of fulfilling this aim of the Pilgrims. Canterbury College had made most of the original plans of the Pilgrims for College House unworkable however Wilford looked at expanding the theological side. Wilford believed that this theological college would train future clergy who would support and maintain the Christian Commonwealth through their hard work and prayer.

St George's was also part of Wilford's Christian Commonwealth and had also been part of the original plans of the Canterbury Pilgrims. The combination of healthcare and religion was important as it meant that religious comfort was available at time of need due to a person's own ill health or the ill health of a loved one. Prayer would be an important part of this with the nursing sisterhood praying for the recovery of patients. Wilford would have wanted St George's to have a close

relationship with the community as a healthcare provider. It was therefore important that it was not run for profit so that it was not owned by businessmen, but in a sense by all who contributed to the project, that is the general community. This also made the charitable aims of the project important as they were fulfilling the idea of Christian charity and helping those in the community who were struggling.

Wilford as a church leader placed considerable emphasis on the pastoral nature of the role. In Waikari and Prebbleton this helped him to develop a community of faith within the parishes. Equally important in Waikari were the church building projects he engaged in which helped to develop the community of faith in the parish further by providing central worship areas. This also showed Wilford as a coloniser as the new churches were aimed at a closer linking of church and society in the region. Wilford's leadership of the Mission at Prebbleton also helped to develop the community of faith in the parish through its aims of conversion and a rekindling of faith. The Flying Squadron and processions of the mission were aimed at bringing the church out into society to make people more aware of it and to invite them in. College House and St George's were both part of Wilford's Christian Commonwealth. Both also give different perspectives on his leadership style – inspiring at St George's and alienating at College House. College House and St George's both show how Wilford tried to fulfil his perception of the aims of the Canterbury Pilgrims. The importance of Wilford to Christchurch as a city lies, however, in the St George's project. His leadership and the inspiration he provided others led a team of people to provide the city with an up to date private hospital which has played an important role in healthcare in the city since its opening in 1928.

Appendix I

A table showing figures relating to the Sunday School in Parish of Waikari from 1904 to 1907

	No. of schools	No. of teachers	No. of scholars	Average Attendance
1904	1	6	23	15
1905	4	9	46	35
1906	4	12	51	42
1907	4	7	43	24

Sourced from 'Statistics Table', *Year Book of the Diocese of Christchurch for the Diocesan Years 1904-1907*

A table showing the number of services each month at the parish centres in the Parish of Waikari from May 1904 to August 1907

	Waikari	Horsley Down	Scargill	Mason's Flat	Hurunui	The Peaks	Medbury
<u>1904</u>							
May	2	-	-	1	-	-	-
June	12	-	-	2	1	-	1
July	19	-	-	2	3	-	1
August	12	-	-	2	2	1	1
September	9	-	-	2	-	-	1
October	12	-	1	2	2	-	1
November	11	-	-	2	-	-	1
December	11	-	1	2	1	1	-
<u>1905</u>							
January	11	-	1	1	1	-	1
February	13	-	1	1	1	1	-
March	11	-	1	1	1	-	3
April	19	-	1	2	1	1	1
May	10	-	1	1	-	-	1
June	14	-	1	1	2	1	1
July	13	6	-	1	-	-	-
August	11	4	-	-	1	-	-
September	11	4	-	-	1	1	-
October	11	4	-	-	1	-	-
November	not	recorded					
December	17	6	-	-	-	-	-
<u>1906</u>							
January	11	3	1	-	-	-	-
February	9	4	-	-	-	-	-
March	10	4	-	-	-	-	-
April	18	5	1	-	-	-	-
May	15	4	-	-	-	-	-
June	12	3	1	-	1	-	-
July	12	6	1	-	-	-	-
August	11	4	-	-	-	-	-
September	12	6	1	-	-	-	-
October	9	4	-	-	-	-	1
November	10	4	1	-	-	-	-
December	10	5	-	-	-	-	-
<u>1907</u>							
January	4	2	-	-	-	-	-
February	10	4	-		1	-	-
March	10	3	1	-	-	-	-
April	11	4	-	-	-	-	-
May	9	2	1	-	-	-	-

June	11	-	3	-	1	-	-
July	9	-	3	-	-	-	-
August	9	-	-	-	-	-	-

Sourced from the *Waikari Service Book* May 1904 to August 1907

**A table showing the number of confirmations in the Parish of Prebbleton from
1908 to 1911**

	No of Confirmations
1908	19
1909	0
1910	39
1911	14

Sourced from the 'Statistics Table', *Year Book of the Diocese of Christchurch* for the Diocesan Years 1908 to 1911

A table showing the number of theological students and then the total number of students at College House during Wilford's time from 1913 to 1932.

	Theological Students	Total number of students
1913	9	14
1914	8	17
1915	3	12
1916	4	9
1917	3	13
1918	1	8
1919	5	16
1920	5	23
1921	6	31
1922	7	30
1923	7	39
1924	6	37
1925	5	34
1926	6	37
1927	6	40
1928	8	46
1929	10	50
1930	12	66
1931	13	64
1932	10	55

Sourced from photos at the College House library and G.C. Weston, *The College House List*

A table showing the total number of students at College House during Carrington's time from 1902 to 1912

	Total number of students
1902	13
1903	11
1904	10
1905	12
1906	13
1907	11
1908	12
1909	12
1910	13
1911	10
1912	13

Sourced from G.C. Weston, *The College House List*

A table showing the total number of students at College House during Parr's time from 1933 to 1949

	Total number of students
1933	57
1934	53
1935	54
1936	53
1937	54
1938	59
1939	58
1940	64
1941	64
1942	49
1943	46
1944	63
1945	62
1946	71
1947	76
1948	79
1949	77

Sourced from G.C. Weston, *The College House List*

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